CSR reporting influenced by a Scandal

- Does it matter if the company is directly- or indirectly involved?

Sofie Nilsson
Michelle Spalding Wicksell

Supervisors
Karin Jonnergård
Peter W Jönsson

Examiner
Amanda Sonnerfeldt

LUNDS UNIVERSITET
Ekonomihögskolan

Abstract

Title:	CSR Reporting influenced by a Scandal – Does it matter if the company is directly- or indirectly involved?
Authors:	Sofie Nilsson and Michelle Spalding Wicksell
Supervisors:	Karin Jonnergård and Peter W Jönsson
Keywords:	CSR Reporting, Media, Legitimacy Regaining Strategies, and Scandal.
Purpose:	The purpose of this study is to investigate how and why companies are changing the nature of their CSR reporting in order to regain legitimacy, due to a scandal. The purpose is also to see if an indication of how media affects the reputation of the organisations' can be found.
Theory:	Legitimacy theory.
Methodology:	The authors' have chosen a qualitative approach by using content analysis for investigating two companies' news articles, press releases and CSR reports during the time from one year before a scandal until one year after the scandal. To be able to examine this relationship, a case study is chosen comprising of two companies. The chosen companies were both indirectly affected, as well as directly affected, by the scandal, through one of their subsidiaries.
Findings:	The empirical data have shows an increase in sustainability reporting after the scandal. However, the company indirectly affected by the scandal seem to be praised by the media, and the directly affected company seem to receive more negative attention after the scandal, by the media. The data also show different strategies the companies' mostly use for regaining their legitimacy, such as explaining the occurrence, creating monitors and watchdogs and disassociation.
Conclusion:	The media influence the directly affected company more than the indirectly affected. However, since both companies increased their CSR report, it can be an indication for media influencing the companies to some extent, which can be seen as an institutional factor.

Acknowledgement

We would like to begin our thesis by acknowledging several individuals that have helped and supported us in writing this thesis.

Of course, we would like to start by thanking our supervisors **Karin Jonnergård** and **Peter W Jönsson**, who have given us valuable support and guidance throughout this journey. We would also like to thank our examiner, **Amanda Sonnerfeldt**, for providing us with well-needed input at the middle seminar. Additionally, we would also want to thank **Andreas Jansson**, Senior Lecturer at the Department of Accounting and Logistics at Linnæus University, for giving us much appreciated advice for our methodology section. Finally, we would like to thank **Yana Malkevich Ström** for reading and commenting our thesis, which kept pushing us forward.

At last, a big thank you to our families for their understanding and support during this time of thesis writing.

Lund, 28 May 2015

Sofie Nilsson & Michelle Spalding Wicksell

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Graphs

List of Tables

1. Introduction

In this chapter, we are going to present the background and significance for this study, as well as the research question and the purpose.

1.1 Background and Significance

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) can be defined as organisations taking responsibility for their impact on society (European Commission, 2014). It can reduce costs, increase customer relationships and also increase the human resource management. Organisations around the world are increasingly being demanded to address sustainability issues, both when it comes to competitiveness (European Commission, 2014) and expectations from the public (Frynas, 2009). The expectation on organisations to include social issues such as poverty, climate and illnesses in their CSR reports has increased during the past years (Frynas, 2009). According to Garcia-Sanchez, Cuadro-Ballestros and Sepulveda (2014), media has a great role in CSR reporting since media is able to pressure organisations. The media is also proved to have a high influence on individual's investment decisions (Rensburg & Botha, 2014). Additionally, Jansson (2013) has shown how media can control socially accepted norms by their work as a governance mechanism. With the use of what is called "naming and shaming", media can uphold these norms since they can influence the reputation for those excessing these norms.

Today, sustainability reporting can be seen as a mainstream movement (Cheam, 2014). In March 2014, more than 100 institutional investors in the US submitted a proposal to the World Federation of Exchanges, which constitutes of 60 stock exchanges, to adopt a uniform standard for sustainability reporting. Additionally, Deegan and Gordon (1996) have found that there is a positive correlation between environmental sensitivity and the level of corporate social reporting. This can be an explanation for sustainable reporting being dominated by the industries that have the highest impact on the environment (Milne & Gray, 2013) and also why environmental matters are not being discussed as often as other concerns by the companies, but receives large attention when being introduced (Holder-Webb, Cohen, Nath & Wood, 2009).

One industry that has been heavily scrutinised by media is the garment industry. This industry has also increased their CSR reporting during the last years (Sustainable Fashion Advice,

2014), which could possibly be explained by the fact that the industry has a high impact on the society. The garment industry faced the deadliest accident in the history, in the year of 2013, when a factory in Bangladesh, with workers inside, collapsed and thereby killed 1.100 people (Fry, 2013). The disaster could have been prevented since the owner had violated the building code and ignored repeated warnings that it was unsafe. Sequent to the disaster, words around the world stated that profits were put above the lives of thousands of people and that international buyers gave little thought to health and safety (Hammadi & Kelly, 2013). The increase of CSR reporting could be explained by activists, working for responsibility (Rana, 2013), but problems such as health and safety for the workers increase as well, due to globalisation and possibly the increasing use of outsourcing of factories (Rana, 2013). Additionally, many companies within the garment industry points out how they have worked with ethical problems such as child labour and working hours, although the latest scandals show that there still is a lot of work to do (The Economist, 2013).

1.2 Problematization

According to Garcia-Sanchez et al. (2014), CSR reporting is the most frequently used communication channel, by organisations, in order for them to appear socially responsible. However, there are a number of factors affecting when an organisation tries to determine whether to disclose certain voluntary information or not (Beyer, Cohen, Lys & Walter, 2010). According to Garcia-Sanchez et al. (2014), one factor that plays an important role when it comes to CSR reporting is the media. Especially when it comes to the more visible organisations, such as listed and multinational companies, since they receive greater media attention (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014). The media can also be the drive in the community's concern regarding environmental performance of organisations, which gives organisations' incentives to increase the level of reporting when it comes to environmental information (Brown & Deegan, 1998). Public interest regarding organisations and their CSR has also increased, which also affect the interest in CSR questions in general, which has led to an increased pressure on companies in certain industries (Toppinen & Korhonen-Kurki, 2013).

Previous research has shown that media pressure can increase the amount of CSR information disclosed by organisations (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014; Brown & Deegan, 1998; Onkila, Joensuu & Koskela, 2014). The communities concern over organisations' environmental performance, within the community, can be driven by media in order to make the organisations increase their environmental reporting (Brown & Deegan, 1998). This is what

Brown and Deegan (1998) found when they examined the relationship between printed media attention to environmental issues and the extent of corporate annual report environmental reporting. However, they did not examine the garment industry in their research. Zyglidopoulos, Georgiadis, Carroll and Siegel (2012) found that negative CSR reporting is not sensitive to changes in media attention, only positive CSR reporting is. This is in line with their prediction that firms will prefer to increase their CSR-strengths rather than reducing their CSR-weaknesses.

According to Toppinen and Korhonen-Kurki (2013), previous research has suggested that the demand from stakeholders is the reason for organisations CSR reporting, rather than social reporting as a strategy. This could, however, also be due to pressure by industry practices. Previous research, within the field of social and environmental accounting, has shown various explanations to why organisations adopt CSR reporting practices (Islam & Deegan, 2008). Some research has shown that the extent of CSR reporting is linked to legitimacy threatening happenings, for example, environmental incidents or media campaigns (Islam & Deegan, 2008), while other researchers have found that there is a connection between the amount of environmental reporting and media attention received by the company (Brown & Deegan, 1998). Additionally, some has found that media attention only influence CSR-strengths (Zyglidopoulos et al., 2012), which also goes in line with Islam and Deegan's (2010) research, finding a relationship between negative media attention and positive CSR disclosed from the organisation exposed to media attention. Another research, considering the forest sector, has found that one of the reasons for increased CSR reporting seems to be managing stakeholder relationship (Toppinen & Korhonen-Kurki, 2013).

Examining what previous research has found in the field of CSR and what has affected CSR reporting, we believe that this topic is well worth continuing studying, although of course in a different manner than previous research. We believe that even though a company is not directly involved in a scandal, similar tendencies, as for the directly affected company, can be found with respect to their CSR reporting, due to the fact that when a scandal occurs, it affects the entire industry (Brown & Deegan, 1998). Several studies have been conducted regarding the garment industry, environmental reporting and/or scandals. However, a comparison between two companies, one directly involved and one indirectly involved, however affected by the same scandal, within the same industry, seems to be an original topic to study. Previous research has mostly been focusing on either one company, examining several years

of data, or not focusing on a scandal specifically. We are now presenting some of the previous research to be able show the originality of our thesis. Beelitz and Merkl-Davies (2012) investigated how corporate communication changed during a six-month period following a legitimacy-threatening event in form of an incident in a German nuclear power plant. Islam and Deegan (2008) have conducted interviews with managers and reviewed annual reports when examining the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association, finding that particular stakeholder groups have, since the early 1990s, placed pressure on the Bangladeshi garment industry in terms of their social performance. Brown and Deegan (1998) examined the relationship between printed media coverage given to various industries' environmental effects and the levels of environmental reporting in the annual report. They did not examine the garment industry, however. Islam and Deegan (2010) have also examined annual reports released by H&M and Nike from 1988 to 2006, finding that negative media exposure leads to more positive CSR reporting. Finally, Kamal and Deegan (2013) analysed 58 annual reports from five garment companies in Bangladesh, covering a period from 1996 to 2009, finding an increase in social and environmental reporting.

To conclude, the garment industry is an industry highly dependent on their customers' perception of their business, due to their industry being very competitive (Fornell, 1992; Kamal & Deegan, 2013; Porac, Thomas & Baden-Fuller, 1989). There has also been a huge increase of CSR reporting within the garment industry during the last decades, as well as organisations, therein, have been pressured and criticised for social and environmental issues (Kamal & Deegan, 2013). Since previous studies have shown that media has a great influence on CSR reporting (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014) and based the fact that Brown and Deegan (1998) state that when a scandal occurs with respect to one organisation, this affects the whole industry, we therefore argue that the media can influence companies within the garment industry, even though they might not be directly involved in a scandal. This is due to the fact that companies in the same industry are subject for the same institutional processes and therefore are required by their stakeholders to take action for any scandal taking place in the industry.

1.3 Research Question

Due to a scandal, how and why are companies changing the nature of their CSR reporting in order to regain legitimacy and can an indication of how media affects the reputation of the organisations' be found?

1.4 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate how and why companies are changing the nature of their CSR reporting in order to regain legitimacy, due to a scandal. The purpose is also to see if an indication of how media affects the reputation of the organisations' can be found.

1.5 Scope

The scope of this study is to investigate the effect a scandal is having on companies' CSR reporting. To be able to investigate this scope the Rana Plaza scandal has been chosen. The Rana Plaza scandal had a huge impact on the garment industry, which we believe also could be found in the companies' reporting due to their will to regain their legitimacy, which has been lost in the scandal. This is also the reason for us choosing the garment industry since this scandal had a huge impact on that particular industry. Furthermore, previous research has shown that the garment industry has been heavily scrutinised by the media since it is an industry that is having a high impact on the environment. The companies, on the other hand, is dependent on the opinion of the media since the media is reaching out to their customers which opinion the industry is heavily relying on. We are therefore choosing this particular context since previous research has shown that media has an impact on CSR reporting when the industry is less environmental friendly.

1.6 Disposition

The disposition of the thesis will be as follow. In Chapter 2, we are going to present our theory and what previous literature has found when it comes to media, CSR reporting and the garment industry. In this way, we will be able to predict what will happen when a scandal occurs within the garment industry. Finally, our diagram depicting how companies are regaining their legitimacy will be presented. In Chapter 3, we are presenting the chosen companies in our case study, H&M and Primark, since they were both affected by a scandal within the garment industry. We are also presenting our empirical material, which are news articles, press releases and CSR reports. Later on, we are showing how we are going to use content analysis to be able to answer our purpose and research question in our study. Finally, critique towards our method is being presented. In Chapter 4, we are presenting our findings when analysing the chosen companies. Chapter 5 provides our analysis, both with respect to media's reaction, as well as the responses from the companies. Finally, an integrated analysis is being presented. In the final chapter, Chapter 6, we are discussing our empirical analysis,

discussing limitations regarding the chosen method and theory. Finally we are presenting our conclusion and suggestion for further research.

2. Theory and Literature

In this chapter, we are going to examine what previous researchers have found in this field of study, both when it comes to medias role in the society, as well as when it comes to CSR reporting and the garment industry. Finally, we are presenting our diagram depicting how companies are regaining their legitimacy and also our prediction.

2.1 Media's Role in Society

For organisations, media is important since the more attention an organisation receives in media the more public attention the organisation also receives (Bansal & Clelland, 2004). The picture media gives of an organisation is often important for members in society, since media often is seen as the most important source of information (Brettschneider, 2002, p. 252). In today's society media is assumed to be independent organisations monitoring decisions and activities performed by organisations (Wu & Davidson, 2011). In order to protect consumers, in countries with highly developed infrastructure, free and independent media is of importance (Wu & Davidson, 2011). However, according to Wu and Davidson (2011) media is also heavily influenced by organisations in the business sector, which in turn leads to journalists that might not dare to write negatively about organisations' unethical behaviour. Additionally, Haddock-Fraser (2012) states that previous research has found that newspapers are heavily influenced by what their readers find important, although he suggest that this could be due to the newspapers political ideology.

Media is often believed to be an important factor when it comes to shaping concerns in the society. This leads to that media can shape what society believes is important in certain issues (Islam & Deegan, 2010). This goes in line with earlier research, which also has found that media shapes the public opinion of organisations, and especially visible organisations such as multinational organisations (Ader, 1995). Additionally, according to Weaver (2014), media has a huge role as well as enormous power when it comes to wrongdoings that can lead to a scandal, this since it is claimed that without media's publicity there would not be a scandal. In democracies media plays an important role when it comes to shaping society's concerns, as such things as a scandal or ethics violation can receive great media attention (Weaver, 2014). Moreover, a scandal can even help a certain media building up its audience (Weaver, 2014). However, organisations also try to manage what media writes about them and to what extent

(Desai, 2011). This can be done by, for example, using a spokesman particularly for the press or by sending out press releases, often about a certain issue or topic (Desai, 2011).

According to Haddock-Fraser (2012) media, and certainly newspapers, has been an influencing factor for consumers when it comes to their environmental view. As mentioned before, media is an important factor when it comes to shaping society's concerns about organisations environmental performance, however, previous research has found that media is more likely to report about an organisation's bad environmental performance than an organisation's good environmental performance since negative environmental performance are "better" news for the newspaper (Haddock-Fraser, 2012).

The media determines the relevance of topics, for society in general, and the public opinion regarding them (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014). Furthermore, the view people have about a company is often related to its visibility in the media, which naturally affects the reputation of the company. For example, Brosius and Kepplinger (1990) analysed the role of media in relation to energy scarcity. Their study shows that the attention the topic received increased from 15 to 30 per cent when media focused on it. When the news coverage later was reduced, the society was less interested in energy supply. Another driving factor in media exposure is the journalists' belief in being on customers' side when reporting (Tench, Bowd & Jones, 2007). Additionally, according to Tench et al. (2007), journalists' are more likely to report something they believe could have a "story" connected to it, which is more often connected to negative CSR reporting than positive CSR reporting. However, journalists' are likely to cover environmental practices, both when it comes to a positive fashion or a negative fashion. Other positive coverage could involve in developing their communities or making donations. Negative coverage, on the other hand, are likely to involve health and safety practices, human rights and organisations being accountable to their stakeholders for their activities.

When media is choosing which organisations and what stories to cover, as well as how to cover them, the media can influence the public opinion as well as stakeholders' willingness to exchange relationships (Gangloff, 2014). Gangloff (2014) therefore argues that a positive media reputation can be an asset for an organisation, while poor media reputation can be damaging to organisational goals. According to Deephouse (2000), the media reputation of an organisation is defined as the overall evaluation of that organisation, presented in the media, which is resulting from media stories covering the organisation. The written stories, appearing

in newspapers, are primarily based on workers' judgement of importance and also deviations from the norm, both in positive and negative directions. Over time, the written information can vary from positive to negative, or the other way around as the written articles can be a forum where organisations and stakeholders debate what constitutes a good firm. Since Deephouse (2000) claims that the deviations from norms, both in a positive or negative way, can be the reason for media releasing positive or a negative articles and also the fact that the written information could vary over time, we therefore believe that the issuance of a positive or negative news article, could be a pressure asserted on the organisation for either enhancing that view (if positive written angle), or to oppose the alleged claims (if negative written angle).

2.1.2 Organisations' Reaction to Media after a Scandal

Certain activities and events can increase an organisation's legitimacy, these activities and events could be community work and environmental activities (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014). However, scandals or accidents can decrease an organisation's legitimacy by attention in the media, which could be why Fernando and Lawrence (2014) claim that organisations usually disclose positive information rather than negative. To increase an organisation's legitimacy, after a scandal, the company might change course. This is something that Islam and Deegan's (2008) research show since after an incident when a garment company used child labour, the company disclosed information regarding their CSR work against usage of child labour in order to regain their legitimacy. Fernando and Lawrence (2014) state that if the management of an organisation is motivation driven the organisation will do what is needed to regain the organisation's legitimacy. However, organisations often avoid disclosing negative information and instead focus on explaining media's negative picture of them by increasing their positive CSR reporting. Organisations may also establish legitimacy strategies in order to meet threats against their legitimacy, for example, accidents or environmental pollution (Gray et al. 2010). Gray et al. (2010) have also seen trends amongst organisations' sustainability reporting that can be viewed as a way of maintaining the importance of an organisation by its creation of wealth. The usage of sustainability reporting in this way can be seen as a way of keeping their legitimacy, within the industry, instead of an individual organisation's (Gray et al., 2010). Furthermore, when a scandal already occurred the organisation can try to gain their stakeholders' approval by restoring their image (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014). This desire of image restoration could be a reason for why organisations voluntary choose to disclose CSR

information, since it can be used as a way of gaining stakeholders' approval (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014). In line with this, Islam and Deegan (2010) argue that multinational organisations react to negative media pressure by giving in for the pressure and taking action in order to restore their image. This could be, for example, disclosing information about their work against a particular issue (Islam & Deegan, 2010).

Legitimacy can be considered to be a resource for an organisation, which an organisation actually is able to influence, for example through reporting and reporting strategies (Islam & Deegan, 2008). When an organisation's legitimacy is threatened, the management often takes responsive actions before losing the organisation's legitimacy (Islam & Deegan, 2008). As Onkila et al. (2014) state, positive environmental reporting is often a way for an organisation to restore their legitimacy. Additionally, they state that legitimacy often is the primary reason for companies issuing sustainability reports. Legitimacy theory considers the society and not the individual, although it sees the relationship between the society and organisations, due to the fact that organisations need their relationship with the society. This relationship exists since organisations are using resources from the society and at the same time, the society needs the organisations' products. Hence, waste products from organisations are therefore often taken care of by the society (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014).

Issuing press releases is an established way for organisations to communicate with their audiences (Brennan & Merkl-Davies, 2014). To keep their relevant public informed on a variety of issues, press releases can be used. Organisations can, for example, include social and environmental practices in their press releases. They can also be issued during a conflict or public controversy, as the management can choose to issue a press release stating the organisation's position in the matter (Brennan & Merkl-Davies, 2014). According to Magness (2006), it is not necessarily the most efficient medium for communication since the target market is not as specified, as other media such as brochures or advertising are. However, when a scandal has occurred, especially in a situation of high stakeholder power, it calls for an immediate response. If a company has an established communication link between themselves and the press, it is more likely that the press release will be cited in the media (Magness, 2006). This also suggests that companies using press releases on a regular basis are more likely to increase their press releases after an incident, compared to companies that normally do not access the press. When Magness (2006) measured the number of press releases issued during the year of an accident, she found that companies receiving more media

attention also issue more press releases. Magness (2006) also found that companies actively using press releases also make more extensive environmental reporting.

One example that clearly shows the importance of issuing press releases following a crisis, is when an incident occur in a nuclear power plant. Beelitz and Merkl-Davies (2012) investigated how corporate communication changed during a six-month period following a legitimacy-threatening event in the form of an incident in a German nuclear power plant. They found that on the day of the incident, the management only issued a brief matter of fact press release and waited three days to provide any legitimacy strategy in order to restore their reputation. The company claim that this was an isolated incident and quoted a regulatory authority, stating that the incident poses no danger to the rest of the population or the natural environment. Five days after the incident, a supervisory authority released information relating to abnormalities during the shutdown of the plant. As the management failed to inform the public of these abnormalities, the company received heavy critique from politicians, environmental organisations and media. As a result, the company experienced two legitimacy threats, one to the safety crisis and the second relating to confidence crisis involving violation of rules due to not disclosing information. In their following Corporate Social Responsibility Report they interviewed their newly appointed Chief Nuclear Officer, controlling both questions and answers, primarily directed to customers through whom the company wanted to be perceived as progressive, empathetic, easily accessible and a reliable partner. Greenpeace reacted to the report by describing their corporate social responsibility as greenwash and calls the report misleading and an attempt to hoodwink the public. This case clearly shows the importance of early legitimacy restoration action for the following reputation of the organisation. If not choosing the right strategy, the management face heavy critique from stakeholders, which seem to be irreparable even when addressing it in their social responsibility report.

2.1.3 Strategies for regaining legitimacy following legitimacy threats

Suchman (1995) has described several strategies for regaining legitimacy. According to him it is not possible for an organisation to satisfy all of their stakeholders, and therefore the management must make choices of which activities, performed by the organisation, that is desirable in the cultural context the organisation works within. To a great extent, these legitimacy management strategies rely on communication between the organisation and other organisations as well as the organisation's stakeholders. This certain communication exceeds

the traditional communication since it includes non-verbal communication as well as meaning-laden communication (Suchman, 1995). In order for legitimacy management to be successful, both techniques and awareness are needed. When an organisation tries to repair their legitimacy it is often by immediately respond to a scandal or crisis. However, when the management tries to repair the organisation's legitimacy, the scandal discrediting the organisation's legitimacy has already occurred (Suchman, 1995). In order to regain legitimacy after a scandal an organisation needs to create a firewall between its previous action and the organisation's stakeholders' opinion about it. The first thing the management normally does after a scandal occurred is denying the actual problem, which often is taking away the organisation's legitimacy. The management can also choose to excuse the scandal by questioning how far the organisation's moral responsibility goes, which can be problematic since it implies a lack of control by the management (Suchman, 1995). Another strategy possibly used by the management can be trying to justify the organisation's actions by afterwards changing the organisation's moral beliefs. Lastly, if previous strategies did not work, the organisation can simply explain the occurrence in such a way that makes the organisation keep its legitimacy (Suchman, 1995).

Beyond offering denials, excuses, justifications and explanations, organisations can also regaining their legitimacy by strategic restructuring (Suchman, 1995). However, when choosing to restruct themselves, organisations can appear unstable and unreliable. However, by selectively confess that limited aspects of its operations were flawed and visibly remedy these flaws, organisations can choose to create monitors and watchdogs, or disassociate themselves. These strategies serve as better damage control techniques, when an organisation is trying to regain their legitimacy, than if the organisation would shift strategy completely, which could make the organisation appear as unstable and unreliable. When choosing to create monitors and watchdogs, the organisation can, for example, invite governmental regulators, chart ombudspersons or institute grievance procedures (Suchman, 1995). By using disassociation, the organisation symbolically distances themselves from "bad influences". See Table 3.1, for an overview of these restoration strategies. The strategies in order to regain legitimacy are normally a reactive response to a crisis or similar (Suchman, 1995).

Suchman's strategies for regaining Legitimacy
Denying the Problem
Excuse the Scandal
Justify the Organisations actions
Explain the Occurrence
Create Monitors and Watchdogs
Disassociate the Organisation

Table 2.1 Suchman's Strategies for Regaining Legitimacy (Suchman, 1995)

2.2 CSR

According to Beyer et al. (2010), previous research has shown that there are several conditions that determine which information organisations decide to disclose when it comes to voluntary information. For example, that the reporting is costless to the organisation, that the investors know that the firms have the private information and that the organisation credibly can disclose their information. This indicates that there are conditions under which it can be predicted when and why less than full reporting is likely to occur. Since the managers have incentives to withhold bad news, they are more likely to release good news earlier than bad news (Beyer et al., 2010). However, according to Islam and Deegan (2010) corporate reporting is often a way for the company giving out the information to maintain or regain legitimacy.

Defining CSR, however, is not an easy task, since it has relatively open rules of applications (Matten & Moon, 2008). Recently, Hack, Kenyon and Wood (2014) tried to define it by critiquing previous definitions from 1950's until today, but could only conclude that a single definition of CSR is not even close to be found. However, they found that CSR gradually has evolved from being just a management issue to social, environmental and legal responsibilities. The core of CSR is the reflection and the consequences on society by business success (Matten & Moon, 2008). According to Matten and Moon (2008, p. 405), it therefore consists of "... clearly articulated and communicated policies and practices of corporations that reflect business responsibility for some of the wider societal good." CSR is consequently different from the corporation's core business to make a profit.

In a broad perspective, CSR can include reporting by an organisation as well as a third party reporting about an organisation (Gray et al., 1995). It can also include information in annual reports and other communication channels the organisation uses, such as media, and thereby

include both public and private information. Organisations around the world are increasingly stating their CSR explicitly, which can be seen as an institutional factor (Matten & Moon, 2008) and previous research has shown that CSR reporting is the most frequently used communication channel for organisations to appear socially responsible as well as the fact that CSR reporting can improve the relationship with the organisation's stakeholders (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014). When it comes to corporate reporting, stakeholders are increasingly making demands on companies, forcing them to report as transparently as possible (Rensburg & Botha, 2014), which should not be taken lightly since there is evidence showing that stakeholders' influence are as powerful as shareholders' to the organisation (Matten & Moon, 2008). Especially if the stakeholder has the power to influence the organisation, they can affect the organisation's legitimacy or affect the urgency of the stakeholder's claim on the organisation (Mitchell, Agle & Wood, 1997). Huang and Kung (2010) have shown how every stakeholder is part of the implicit and explicit contracts representing an organisation, giving that stakeholders or groups of stakeholders are supplying the organisation with something critical and therefore also has a legitimate claim on the organisation. However, Gray et al. (1995) state that CSR information does not has to be restricted to some certain selected recipients and that this lack of restriction also means that CSR can include any subject wanted.

2.2.1 Medias Influence on CSR Reporting

Media is often considered to play an important role in CSR reporting, however, there is a difference in what kind of companies that receives media's attention. For example, multinational organisations receive media attention to a higher extent due to the fact that these organisations are visible to the public (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014). This greater attention should lead to these organisations being more careful about their image and thereby leading to more promotion of CSR. Additionally, according to Garcia-Sanchez et al. (2014), media heavily influences values and norms, and by this, society can use media in order to determine which people and organisations that are most important in different context. Furthermore, legitimacy explains how organisations continually try to ensure they are following norms and bounds within the field they are operating in (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014). As these norms and bounds can change over time organisations need to react on ethical changes in their field (Deegan & Unerman, 2011, p. 323-324). During the last 30 years, media's interest in CSR, as well as non-financial information in general, has increased (Ditlev-Simonsen, 2014).

Therefore, media has an important role when it comes to what different activities an organisation performs, such as CSR reporting. However, according to Ditlev-Simonsen (2014), the historical media coverage of CSR has been more negative than positive. Additionally, for organisations CSR reporting, media can be seen as an important stakeholder able to influence and pressure, through this influence and pressure media can also possibly influence other stakeholders (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014). Garcia-Sanchez et al. (2014) found in their study that media has a significant influence on society's view of an organisation since this view is based on what media presents. Several previous researchers have found that increased media exposure leads to an increase in environmental information being released from the company. Moreover, Deegan, Rankin and Tobin (2002) found that reporting regarding environmental performance and human resources increased in annual reports in response to unfavourable media attention. Additionally, Islam and Deegan (2010) found that negative media coverage leads to more positive CSR information reported by the organisations themselves.

Previous research has shown that firms that constantly engaging in CSR can receive more positive consumer responses (Groza, Pronschinske, & Walker, 2011). The media attention firms receive has given the public unlimited access to information regarding the CSR reporting. However, since the number of socially irresponsible behaviour has increased over recent years, the media can be seen as the consumer "watchdog", scrutinising the reporting and quickly reveal it to the public. To mitigate the effects of negative information being revealed, firms can use a strategy there they implements a CSR strategy soon after socially irresponsible behaviour has been revealed (Ricks, 2005). Prior research has shown that consumers respond favourably to continuing CSR activities and negative to the implementation of CSR activities directly after a scandal if there has been a lack of CSR activities prior the scandal (Becker-Olsen, Cudmore & Hill, 2006; Wagner, Lutz & Weitz, 2009) and that consumers respond favourably to companies starting to promote CSR even though they have not done so before, than if no reaction at all was provided by the company (Ricks, 2005). Previous research has also shown that consumers would boycott firms acting irresponsibly if reasonable alternatives were available (Becker-Olsen et al., 2006) as all consumers react negatively towards negative CSR information and only the most supportive of CSR issues react positively to positive CSR information (Sen & Bhattacharya, 2001). In their research, Garica-Sanchez et al. (2014) found that the more media attention an organisation receives the more CSR information the organisation also discloses. Additionally,

sustainability reporting can be a way of gaining stakeholders' approval as well as it can be used for image restoration, for example, after a scandal or negative media attention, which in turn, can be an indirect reason for organisations to disclose CSR information (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014).

Gray et al. (2010) argue that the process of institutionalisation can partly explain social accounting behaviour, by increasingly shared values and mimetic tendencies for imitating other organisations in the same industry. Larrinaga-Gonzalez and Bebbington (2001) connect legitimacy theory to a case study of a Spanish electricity organisation, arguing in two different ways in how and why an organisation changes its behaviour when it comes to CSR reporting. First, they claim that organisations do change when they are responding to environmental demands, and second, they suggest that organisations will change the environmental agenda itself so the organisation can continue as before. Therefore, this argues that CSR reporting is a process of external pressures, as well as a potential source for changing itself (Gray et al., 2010). Seeing an example of this, previous research has demonstrated that in an industry, there a scandal occurred to one specific organisation, this scandal affected the whole industry and led to an increase of CSR reporting in the whole industry in order for organisations therein to stay legitimate (Brown & Deegan, 1998).

2.3 The Garment Industry

The garment industry is not faced with nearly as much regulation as some other industries are facing. An example of this is the fact that companies in the garment industry in Bangladesh are not required to disclose particular social and environmental information, even though this is expected by Western clothing brands (Kamal & Deegan, 2013). Additionally, in Bangladesh the garment industry represent forty per cent of the country's manufacturing (Kamal & Deegan, 2013). The garment industry is continuously being criticised for poor employment conditions as well as for the fact that child labour often is being used (Islam & Deegan, 2008), which also raises the issue of responsibility by organisations with complex global supply chains (Frynas, 2009). Garment companies in Bangladesh are only required to comply with various factory acts and labour laws (Kamal & Deegan, 2013) but they are, however, highly dependent on their customers perception of their business, since the industry is very competitive (Fornell, 1992; Kamal & Deegan, 2013; Porac et al., 1989). Zhu and Sarkis (2006) findings are in line with this as they have found that many suppliers face

pressure from their customers. Stakeholders within the garment industry, for example non-governmental organisations, expect accountability and transparency from companies within the garment industry (Kamal & Deegan, 2013). Since the industry is not as regulated, it has been argued that garment companies are disclosing excessive information to securing and maintaining legitimacy and to be able to meet community expectations (Kamal & Deegan, 2013).

Kamal and Deegan (2013) found that there has been a tremendous increase of CSR reporting within the garment industry since the 1990s, which they explain by the pressure and criticism companies in the garment industry receive when it comes to social and environmental issues. This increase of CSR reporting in the garment industry has, according to Kamal and Deegan (2013), been due to pressure as well as criticism, which the garment industry received in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Additionally, in their research, they found that reporting in the garment industry reached a peak in 2007.

2.3.1 How Media Influence the Garment Industry

Islam and Deegan (2008) found in their research that there is a general view that multinational buying companies reacted to community concerns because media and NGO's were driving forces for these concerns. They also found that reporting in the garment sector regarding a certain event was due to media attention and treats about boycotts and thereby direct pressure. Since the industry is not as regulated as some other industries, it has previously been argued that garment companies are disclosing excessive information to secure and maintain legitimacy and to be able to meet community expectations (Kamal & Deegan, 2013). Additionally, Islam and Deegan (2010) found that many media articles addressing companies in the garment industries are negative, as well as many articles takes up the issue of poor working conditions and poor working environment in the garment industry.

As previous research has found, scandals in a specific organisation in an industry lead to an increase of reporting in the whole industry (Brown & Deegan, 1998), this mimetic process, based on institutional theory and deriving from uncertainty that encourages imitation, explains this similarities inside an industry (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). If an organisation faces ambiguous goals as well as when the environment creates symbolic uncertainty, organisations might start to mimic each other. This can be done without an organisation being aware of that it is happening and is considered to be a convenient solution for the organisation.

Organisations tend to model themselves after other organisations that they perceive as more legitimate or successful.

An example of media pressure on organisations in the garment industry as well as similarities within the industry is Islam and Deegan's (2010) finding that when the mid-nineties media articles about poor working conditions in developing countries, for example Bangladesh, reached its peak, it was also first then multinational organisations, using suppliers in developing countries, started to pressure their suppliers in order for their employees to receive better working conditions.

The garment industry is highly dependent on their customers (Kamal & Deegan, 2013) as well as multinational organisations therein are subject to media attention (Islam & Deegan, 2008). Customers are often more positive to organisations using CSR continuously compared to those using CSR as a reaction after, for example a scandal (Groza et al., 2011). Additionally, starting to promote CSR, immediately after a scandal, often leads to customers having negative thoughts and attitude towards the organisation (Groza et al., 2011). This goes in line with Buysse and Verbeke's (2003) statement that companies viewing customers as one of their most important stakeholder are more likely to have an approaches to CSR there they continuously engage in CSR. Since major consumers have expressed concerns regarding this industry's products (Kamal & Deegan, 2013), it is not surprising that CSR is an important part of the garment industry's CSR reporting and that this has increased during the last years (Chi, 2011). However, the garment industry is continuously being criticised for poor employment conditions, which also raises the issue of responsibility by organisations with complex global supply chains (Frynas, 2009).

2.4 Our Diagram and our Prediction

To sum up this chapter, when a scandal occurs, a legitimacy gap affecting both individual companies and the entire industry towards the society arises. Both media and companies within the industry, whether they are directly or indirectly involved, receive information regarding the scandal. The companies can choose from different strategies for regaining their legitimacy, and are then using these different strategies when addressing the scandal. However, since the media is seen as gatekeepers or watchdogs, society believes their claims to be more legitimate, than the companies' claims. This lead to the fact that media's reporting,

their opinion of the company, becomes highly important for the companies to be able to regain their legitimacy.

These predictions can be seen in the diagram down below (see Figure 2.1). As mentioned before, when a scandal occurs, media as well as companies receive information regarding the scandal. The companies are then choosing between different strategies for regaining legitimacy by trying to close the arising legitimacy gap, which then are being used when reporting information regarding the scandal. However, since the society is viewing media as a gatekeeper, the information provided by the companies might not receive enough legitimacy in order for society to believe them. Media therefore plays a larger role, than the companies, since the society is seeing media as more legitimate and thereby trusting their words more than the companies. Media, as a gatekeeper, is interpreting the chosen strategies by the companies and then deciding what to report. These strategies, chosen by the companies, can be equally positive, negative or neutral. After media has interpreted the strategies they then choose to report information in a positive, negative or neutral way. The chosen strategies therefore play an important part for companies regaining their legitimacy. We therefore argue that companies in the garment industry will use these strategies to close the legitimacy gap as well as changing the nature of their CSR reporting.

Media

Positive (+), negative (-) or neutral (0)

Media receives information regarding the scandal

Media reports information regarding the scandal

Scandal

Positive (+) or neutral (0)

Society

Companies' report information regarding the scandal

The company uses strategies for regaining legitimacy, towards media and society

Companies' report information regarding the scandal

Companies' receive information regarding the scandal
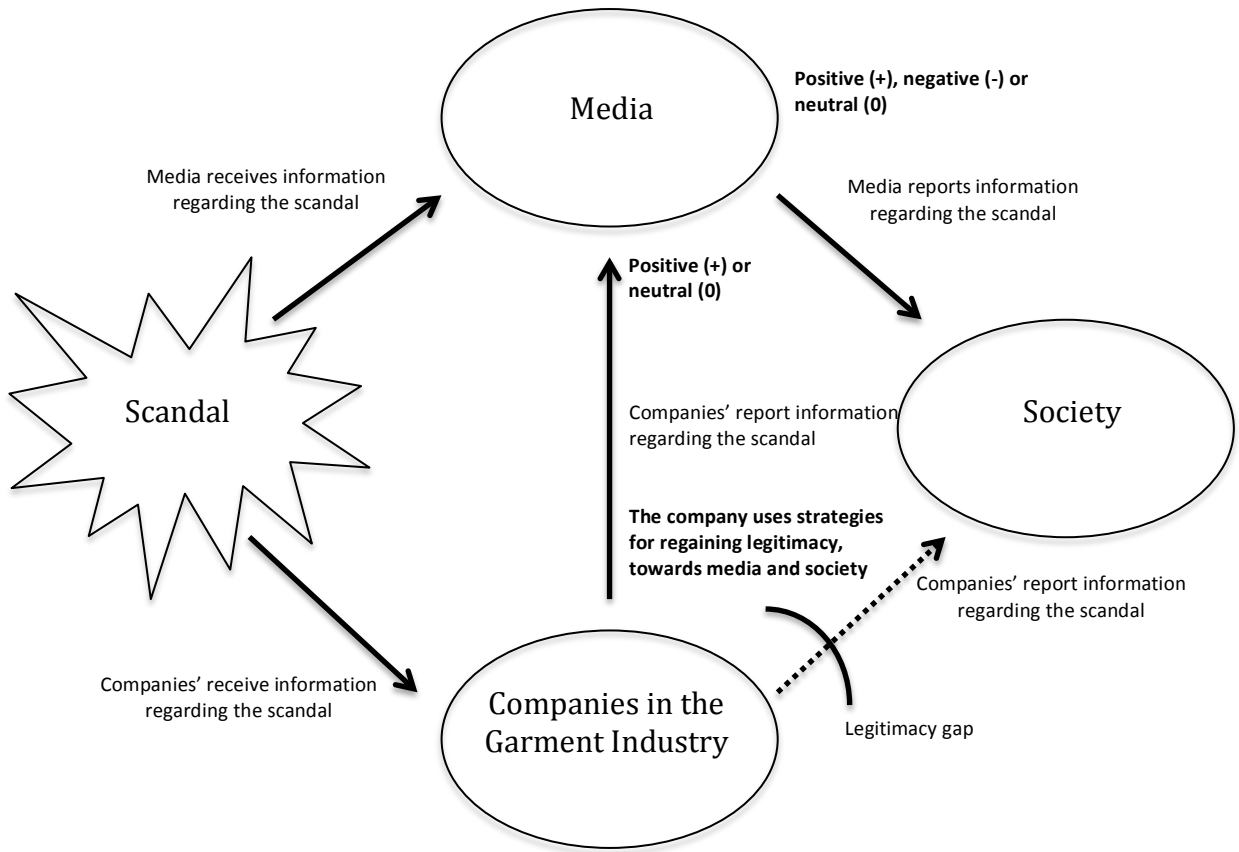
Companies in the Garment Industry

Legitimacy gap

Figure 2.1 Diagram depicting how companies are regaining their legitimacy

3. Methodology

In this chapter, we are going to present our chosen research approach. We are also going to present the chosen companies for our case study and the material we are using in our thesis. Furthermore, we are also presenting the empirical method chosen to achieve our purpose with this study and finally critique our choices.

3.1 Research approach

A deductive approach is mostly common when studying the nature of relationship between theory and research (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 11). It uses existing theory, what is known, in the development of an assumption that will be tested against empirical evidence (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 11). Inductive approaches, on the other hand, is when the researcher collects information in order to draw theoretical conclusions afterwards (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 11). Therefore, a deductive approach is used for testing of theories while an inductive approach is used for generation of theories (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 27). Furthermore, an inductive as well as a deductive approach includes elements of the other approach, deductive approach includes inductive elements as a last step when the findings will be inferred to the theory and inductive includes deductive elements when the theoretical reflection has occurred and the researcher might collect more data in order to examine whether the theory holds or not (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 13). Since we are beginning our thesis by examining theories and what previous researchers have found in this field, to be able to provide theory to our claims, and then test it empirically, we are using a deductive approach.

Business research can be divided into qualitative and quantitative research where a quantitative method needs measure while a qualitative method does not (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 26). In a quantitative research method, when data is collected in a deductive approach to be able to test the relationship between theory and research, theories are tested and the view of reality is external and objective (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 27). A qualitative research method, at the contrary, is, according to Bryman and Bell (2007, p. 27), often emphasizing an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research and views reality as a shifting property of individual creation. However, according to Bryman and Bell (2007, p. 27) in reality the distinction between quantitative and qualitative research is often not as precise as described above since business research is complex, although it can be useful

to differ between these two research methods. Moreover, even though a qualitative research method is mostly used for generation of theories, there are researchers that have used a qualitative method in order to test theory in reality and therefore, a qualitative method can also be used for testing of theory and thereby with a deductive approach (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 27). Therefore, the distinction between these two research methods is not always straightforward and a research strategy might as well include both of them (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 28). To be able to get an in depth analysis of our research, we have chosen a qualitative approach. By doing this, we argue that we can get a higher understanding of the research phenomena, than if we would use a quantitative method. A qualitative research method is also widely used when using content analysis as an empirical method (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), which is a method we have chosen.

3.2 Empirical Material

3.2.1 Case study

A case study is a study that focuses solely on one phenomenon or on one outcome (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p, 18). Case studies are often more interested in the cause of effects than the effect happening due to the cause. In a case study, what is studied is a few numbers of cases possible to compare. According to Blatter and Haverland (2012, p. 19) there are four steps that define a case study; first, there should be a small number of cases. Second, at the contrary to the small number of cases, there should be large number of empirical observations on each of the cases. Third, the observations for each case should also be diversified. Lastly, the reflection of the relation between the observations and the theoretical concept should be intense. Additionally, Blatter and Haverland (2012, p. 23) define three approaches for conducting a case study; firstly, no matter if the study actually is a case study or not, the study needs a research question and the research question needs to be answered in order for the study to meet its goal (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 23). Secondly, the selection of case is of importance for the study in order to show that it is one factor and not another causing the effect (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, pp. 24-25). Thirdly, data generation is a crucial step in a case study in order to analyse the data and thereby conclude cause and effect (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, pp. 26-30). Since this study focuses on one industry and two companies therein (read below for more information about the chosen cases) a case study is a suitable method considering Blatter and Haverland's (2012) step of defining a case study.

3.2.2 The chosen Companies, Industry and Scandal

To be able to see if our prediction holds in reality, we have decided to apply it to the context of a scandal that has made a huge impact on the garment industry. We have chosen two companies that differ from each other to show that it does not matter if the company is directly or indirectly affected by the scandal, or if it is a subsidiary or an entire group. Either way, we predict that it will have effects on their CSR reporting since previous research has found that a scandal occurring in one industry leads to all companies therein that increasing their CSR reporting (Brown & Deegan, 1998).

The chosen scandal took place in April 2013 when a building called Rana Plaza in Dhaka, Bangladesh, used by factories contracted by multinational clothing companies, collapsed and killed over 1,000 people and left another 1,000 people injured (Clean Clothes Campaign, 2013). 80 per cent of the killed workers were young women working 14-hour shifts, earning between 12 and 24 cent per hour (Institute for Global Labour and Human Rights, 2013). Choosing only one scandal can of course be seen as a limitation. The usage of more than one scandal would, naturally, give this study a broader empirical base. However, due to time limitations we chose only to cover one scandal.

The two chosen companies are Primark and H&M. Primark's first store was opened in Dublin, Ireland in 1969 under the name Penneys (Primark, 2015a). Today, Primark has over 270 stores in Europe and will also expand to America where the first store will open in fall 2015 (Primark, 2015a). It is a subsidiary to the British company Associated British Food (Primark, 2015b), which is listed on the London Stock Exchange (Primark, 2015c). Primark wants to be the choice for people seeking value and the latest look without spending too much money (Primark, 2015a).

H&M opened their first store in Västerås, Sweden, in 1947 (H&M, 2015a). Today H&M Group has 3,500 stores worldwide and consists of six different brands, which makes H&M the second largest company within the garment industry (H&M, 2015a). Their concept is to provide fashion and quality at the best price (H&M, 2015b). H&M is listed on the Swedish stock exchange and is still owned with a majority by the founder family (H&M, 2015c).

The reason for us choosing these two companies is because they are well known around the world. It is also due to the fact that these two companies were more or less involved in the

scandal (Clean Clothes Campaign, 2013). Lots of multinational companies within the garment industry had contracts with the factories situated in the collapsed building, for example Primark (Clean Clothes Campaign, 2013). H&M, however, was not one of the companies, but as the second largest company in the garment industry they were critiqued for their slow response (Lo, 2013). Primark's supplier was situated in the building, which makes them directly involved in the scandal. One have to bare in mind though, that Primark is a subsidiary, which makes this study interesting since we predict that the group company still will take this seriously, even though they have several other subsidiaries, which we hope to find when analysing the group sustainability report as well as their press releases. H&M, however, was not directly involved since they did not use any factory in that particular building. Still, they were heavily critiqued for their slow response to the collapse, since H&M is the second biggest company in the garment industry (Lo, 2013). In this study, H&M, just as much as Primark, will be considered to be equal connected to the scandal even though they were not directly involved in it. We argue that they are forced to react, due to the competitive nature of the garment industry.

Both Primark and H&M have been controlled in order to ensure that no other scandal that directly affected the companies occurred in the same time frame as the time frame used in this study, which, in other case, possibly could affect the CSR report. No scandal connected to these companies was found. However, in the case of Primark's owner, Associated British Foods, a small tax scandal in Zambia was found, where a subsidiary, to Associated British Foods, in the sugar industry was involved (Boffey, 2013). In order to make sure that this scandal would not affect the study, a small investigation of how much the tax scandal is mentioned in the CSR report was conducted. We found that the scandal was only mentioned in approximately 100 words, divided on two different pages. Therefore, in conclusion, we believe that this tax scandal will not affect this study.

Only the garment industry is considered in this study. The choice of the garment industry is due to the fact that it is an industry that is highly dependent on their customers opinion as well as it is an industry there a huge increase of CSR reporting occurred during the last decades (Kamal & Deegan, 2013). Obviously, there are other industries in which similar CSR changes have occurred as well as other industries being dependent on their customers perception. However, this study has decided to only focus on one industry, namely the garment industry, due to the time this study needs to be conducted in.

One limitation with this study is the fact that only two companies are investigated. However, from the beginning the thought was to have three companies, one group of companies that was directly involved in the scandal, one subsidiary to a group of companies that was directly involved and additionally, one group of companies that was indirectly involved. The chosen subsidiary that was directly involved is Primark and the chosen group of companies that was indirectly involved is H&M. Additionally, the two possible companies, in the garment industry, that are groups of companies as well as they are directly involved are Inditex and J.C. Penney. However, due to Inditex's headquarter being located in Spain, Inditex is not possible to use in this study, since the Spanish news articles regarding Inditex, naturally, will be in Spanish and none of the authors know Spanish. The second alternative, J.C. Penney, only has an available CSR report concerning the year the scandal took place and no available report regarding the time before the scandal available. Despite contact with the Senior Manager for Corporate Sustainability, no CSR report has been reached. Due to these circumstances, only two companies, Primark and H&M, will be used in this study.

3.2.3 News Articles

The media can be seen as shaping the public awareness (Islam & Deegan, 2010). According to Islam and Deegan (2010), the public needs the media to tell them how important an issue in the real world is since the public cannot learn this from available real world cues. There are several different media sources to choose from when analysing media's reporting of scandals. Since newspapers can be argued to have power over communities' opinion and also its ability for national distribution (Bansal & Clelland, 2004; Jansson, 2014), we chose to use newspapers in our study. To be able to analyse media's coverage of the scandal, we have chosen to collect data from two different newspapers. The newspapers have been chosen due to which country the companies' headquarter is located in, since we believe that the coverage will be more extensive in that country and based on that Grewal, Kumar, Mallapragada and Saini (2013) state that the managing of marketing communication must be assigned from the headquarter. The chosen newspapers are distributed on a daily basis, nationwide, and are not considered to only cover business sections, due to the fact that the purpose of this study's purpose if to see media's influence over the chosen companies and therefore newspapers covering more than only business seems suitable. Since Primark's (and also Associated British Food's) headquarter is situated in the UK, we chose the newspaper The Telegraph. The Telegraph is one of the biggest selling broadsheets in the UK (The Guardian, 2014) and

has a very good search function on their website, for analysing the coverage of the scandal in Bangladesh. We chose the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter when it comes to covering H&M. Dagens Nyheter is one of Sweden's biggest selling broadsheets (Metro, 2013). The articles from Dagens Nyheter was obtained from the database Mediearkivet/Retriever, which has an excellent search function. The fact that the Telegraph and Dagens Nyheter were chosen, in this study, were due to the fact that they both are one of the most selling broadsheets in the UK and Sweden. As the companies in this study are Swedish and British companies, the fact that the chosen newspapers both are one of the most selling broadsheets in each of the countries implies that these two newspapers reach out over the countries and therefore could represent media articles in each of the countries.

We used the keywords "Primark" and "H&M" when searching in the different databases. The time period chosen was set from one year before the scandal up to one year after the scandal, this to be able to see if any changes has occurred when it comes to media reporting. We chose this time span to be able to connect it to the CSR reports as well as the press releases. This sample was also suitable, according to Andreas Jansson, Senior Lecturer at the Department of Accounting and Logistics at Linnæus University (communication by phone 15/4-2015), who recommended us to use a random sample of articles, which enables us to analyse it in a more manageable fashion. It is also a preferred method since Elo and Kyngäs (2008) claim that the sample must be representative from whole population and probability in sampling is necessary when the population is too large to analyse entirely. This is also suitable for us to achieve our purpose with this study. We then sorted the articles by date order, excluding all hits that were not an article, for example videos. Since the searches generated a great response, we decided to narrow it down to only 100 hits per company, to be able to analyse the articles in a more manageable fashion. Hence, we have chosen the systematic sampling method, which is when the researcher start by numbering the elements in the sampling frame and then decide the number needed for sampling (Deacon, Pickering, Golding & Murdock, 1999, p. 46). Next, the number is divided by the total sampling frame, which gives the researcher a sampling interval (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 46). For example, when searching for "Primark", it generated approximately 150 hits. To be able to make an appropriate selection, we divided the number of hits with 100, to be able to create a sampling interval for which articles we should use. This resulted in a ratio of 1,5, which made us choose two articles in a row, exclude one, and then continue. According to Deacon et al. (1999, p. 43), a qualitative researcher is not concerned with an extensive perspective in order to be able to generalise, but

rather to provide insights. By doing this selection, we hope to find a sample that is illustrative and thereby be able to find indications for changes over the two year period. Addressing the difference in quantity of news articles between the two newspapers enables us to see to what extent we can draw conclusions from the material. We are, however, focusing on the qualitative nature of this paper, which is also our main focus.

When we had chosen which news articles to analyse, we downloaded them in full-text and read all of them. A large proportion of the articles were not primarily about the companies; for example, scores in a football game with a reference to a Primark parable. These articles were excluded. We also discovered that a few of the articles were missing when we tried to open them, and therefore they also were excluded from our selection. Articles containing financial indexes, for example FTSE, where the companies were not mentioned exclusively, were also excluded, due the fact that it is hard to make separate analysis for only one company, when several companies might be mentioned in one paragraph. Articles containing only the company's share and/or performance evaluation were included in our selection. Finally, articles that actually are covering something with the main purpose not being the chosen company, but only mentioning the company briefly, was also excluded due to the fact we want to be able to analyse the chosen companies without interference from other companies or individuals. However, if the main purpose of the article was to cover a rival, it was included. Since we divided the companies amongst ourselves when deciding which articles to keep and which to exclude, there is an obvious risk for the chosen articles to be biased. To make sure that the articles was chosen as unbiased as possible, we selected ten included and ten excluded articles from each company that the other person had analysed and re-evaluated if it should be included or not. A few differences were found and we consequently corrected the rest of the articles as we decided if it should be included or not. Of course, we started by analysing the articles together in the beginning to make sure that we interpreted them in the same way. Since the newspaper Dagens Nyheter is a Swedish newspaper we translated the used sentences together, to make sure that there would not be an error in the translation, or that the translation was not made in an unbiased fashion. An overview showing our selection can be found in Table 3.1.

Company Name	Chosen newspaper	Total hits	Total hits/100	Articles remaining after final selection
Primark	The Telegraph	149	1,5	36
H&M	Dagens Nyheter	313	3,1	37

Table 3.1 Selection of News Articles

3.2.4 Press Releases

To be able to analyse the companies' response to media in one way further than the CSR reports, we are also going to analyse the press releases provided by the companies. We have decided to choose the press releases in the same way as we chose the news articles, by selecting press releases from one year before the scandal, up to one year after the scandal. Since Associated British Foods and Primark have separate press releases and since Primark is a part of a group of companies, we have chosen to include both of their press releases. During this period, H&M releases far more press releases than Primark, 187 compared to only 48. To be able to analyse H&M's press releases in a manageable fashion, we decided to narrow them down to one hundred, by selecting every second article. In this way, just as when it comes to selecting news articles, we have chosen the systematic sampling method, by starting to number the elements in the sampling frame and then decide the number needed for sampling (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 46). By doing this selection, we believe that we can show a sample largely representing the entire population of their press releases. We could of course, narrow them down to 50, to make the sample as large as Primark's. However, since we have chosen every press release from Primark, we do not want to narrow down the sample from H&M any further. This, we argue, could make us lose some valuable information to our research. Additionally, since we chose 100 news articles, we wanted the sample to be equally large to be able to make comparisons. Addressing the difference in quantity of the press releases between the two companies enables us to see to what extent we can draw conclusions from the material. We are, however, focusing on the qualitative nature of this paper, which is also our main focus. An overview of the selection can be found in Table 3.2.

Company Name	Total hits	Total hits/100	Press releases remaining
Primark	48	n/a	48
H&M	187	1,9	100

Table 3.2 Selection of Press Releases

We are going to code the post scandal press releases according to the restoration legitimacy strategies presented by (Suchman, 1995). See more about the coding process in chapter 4.2.1. To be able to do this coding, we have to start by selecting which press releases we can use for this purpose. We therefore started by reading them through, constantly comparing with each other to make sure that the selection was made properly. Press releases relating to anything other than the scandal was excluded. We also decided to exclude any press release that involves sustainability, but did not involve the scandal. To see the amount of remaining press releases after final selection, an overview can be found in Table 3.3.

Company Name	Total press releases post scandal	Press releases remaining after final selection
Primark	29	9
H&M	49	4

Table 3.3 Final Selection of Press Releases

3.2.5 CSR Reports

CSR reports have commonly been used in previous research regarding CSR reporting (Alazzani & Wan-Hussin, 2013). The CSR reports used in this study are chosen from one year before the scandal to the year the scandal took place. When it comes to Primark, their latest report before the scandal dates back to 2010 and the next report was not being released until after the scandal, in 2013. Therefore, the CSR reports of Primark will be from 2010 and 2013. We do not believe that this will have any impact on our research since we still will be able to see if we can find any differences. See Table 3.4 for an overview over the years of the used reports.

Company Name	Year of scandal	Years of reports used
Primark	2013	2010 & 2013
H&M		2012 & 2013

Table 3.4 The year of the Scandal and the Year of the chosen CSR Reports

The used reports are issued directly by the company and have been downloaded directly from the companies' official web pages. Primark's CSR report was downloaded from Associated British Food's web page and involves the entire group. Even though Primark is only a part of the group, the whole CSR report will be used, since Primark does not have their own CSR report and the fact that Associated British Foods writes about the scandal in more parts of their CSR report than in the Primark section.

3.3 Analytical Method

In this study, a content analysis will be performed, both with respect to news articles and press releases as well as CSR reports.

3.3.1 Content Analysis

In order to find possible changes before and after the scandal, a content analysis will be used. According to Bryman and Bell (2007, p. 289), a content analysis is a research approach that can be used for analysing documents and texts in order to objectively and systematic describe the content of communication and characteristics of messages. Additionally, in a content analysis such things as number of pages, words and images can counted (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 295-298), as well as asking questions to the text (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). The method has received critique such as being too simplistic to use for statistical analysis but also for not being sufficient for a qualitative research (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). However, it enables several benefits for the researcher since it is content-sensitive and flexible when it comes to research design and is useful for understanding the meaning of communication (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Content analysis is a common method for social and human science, however, the natural domain of content analysis is claimed to be in communication and cultural science, and amongst other content analysis is commonly used for news (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 116). Additionally, according to Grafström and Windell (2011), content analysis as a method enables the researcher to develop knowledge of how media frame certain issues over time and is especially valuable when searching for patterns in a large amount of data. It is a well-established practice to use content analysis when analysing media coverage, CSR reporting and scandals. See for example, Grafström and Windell's (2011) research that evaluated how the business press has presented CSR over a period of 10 years, and Jansson (2013), who analysed the Swedish press's coverage of two major corporate scandals. Additionally,

according Deacon et al. (1999, p. 117), content analysis is a suitable method for research in mass media since it aims to show a big picture.

The purpose of analysing the media articles is not to discuss whether the garment companies have actually done something right or wrong, but rather to be able to show if the news articles have taken some kind of standpoint in their belief of the company's right- or wrongdoings as well as investigate the number of articles the media writes about the companies. Therefore, the first step in the coding of news articles is to code them "pre" or "post" scandal. Afterward the asking question to the text will take place. Hence, the question "Is the article positive or negative towards the company?" will be asked. First, however, it is crucial to dissect the structure and content of a media article. The reason for this is due to the fact that a thematic structure is running throughout a media text, with its preoccupying concept or preposition (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 169). It ties together a number of statements on the basis of social forms of perception and beliefs and without this structure a media article would be fragmentary and narratively dissolute (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 169). The data in a news article is structured in a particular mode of storytelling in the following order; headline, lead paragraphs through episodes or statements by witnesses and commentators, ranked in an implicit order of priority, then on to further elaboration of details, possible extrapolation and evaluation, often from key players or accredited sources. This order is influenced by the salience of particular news values in a particular type of story, as well as the journalists' rhetorical priorities of facticity and objectivity, rather than chronological order. To be able to show the "side taken" by the paper in terms of a narrative schema, it can be done in several ways (Deacon et al., 1999, p. 171). One way is to count the positive and negative quotes. The more positive quoted sources and the more information to back up the sources, the more the journalist believes the positive side of the story. A negative quote could be referring to the scandal by interviewing a source, and a positive quote could be quoting a person telling things that is being done to support the families. This is our chosen method in assessing whether the journalist is positive or negative towards the company in the written article.

After the selection, the press releases are firstly coded as "pre" or "post" scandal. Thereafter, to be able to show the impact the scandal have had on the press releases content, we have decided to code the press releases by dividing them into "Sustainability" or "Other". In this way, we can easily see patterns from one year before the scandal, up to one year after the scandal. "Sustainability" is used when the press release contain anything that involves

sustainability matter. Hence, "Other" is exactly what it sounds like, anything else than sustainability. When it comes to H&M, we have chose to use their coding since they have named their press releases involving sustainability to "Sustainability Update". By following their coding, we argue that this makes it more reliable since we do not have to make any interpretation of the content. When it comes to Primark the coding was also very easy. All Associated British Foods press releases only involved other matters than sustainability, such as share information or information regarding the annual meeting. Additionally, almost all information in Primark's press releases involved sustainability matters and as well as all were released post scandal.

The content analysis of the CSR reports will be as follows; first the number of pages, number of words and number of images in the reports will be counted, in the report before as well as in the report after the scandal. This is a method often conducted by researchers within this field (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014). The total number of pages will be counted, including all pages such as front paper and table of contents regardless of what content the pages have. The number of words will be counted in the same way as number of pages, including words written on the front paper and in the table of content. Additionally, the number of images will be counted similar to the way we are counting the number of pages and words. When the numbers of images are counted, tables and diagrams are also included, no matter what page it is on.

The amount of space the scandal gets in the CSR report is also measured. Naturally, only the CSR reports issued after the scandal are considered. Therefore, the number of pages only covering the scandal will be counted as well as the number of pages the scandal is mentioned in. Also, the amount of words regarding the scandal will be counted. The number of words on the pages in the report there it is only written about the scandal as well as number of words written about the scandal on the remaining pages, when the number of words on the remaining pages are counted only the word in sentences that clearly is about the scandal will be counted. Additionally, the images, tables and diagrams connected to the scandal will be counted no matter if they are on the front paper, the table of content or in the pages only about the scandal, as long as it is pictures clearly connected to the scandal.

For both the press releases and the CSR reports the next step in the coding process involves counting the used repairing legitimacy actions. As mentioned in the theoretical framework,

management faces several choices of actions, such as denying, excusing, justification, explanation or the choice to restructure. Two choices amongst the restructuring actions are to create monitors and watchdogs or disassociation. These different processes are we going to use when coding the press releases. By doing this, we argue that the press might react in different ways (see also the theoretical framework for a bad example when management chooses the wrong strategies after a scandal), which can help us explain differences and similarities in their CSR reports. Naturally, only the CSR reports after the scandal was used as well as only text in the CSR reports that is directly and explicitly connected to the scandal was analysed. For the press releases, only the press releases regarding the scandal was used.

In order to make sure that both of the authors coded and interpreted the news articles, the press releases and the CSR reports in the same way, a control method has been used. The first step of this control method consists of both authors coding and interpreting the same news article, press release and CSR report, separately but in the same time, and thereafter comparing the coding and interpreting the material in order to find differences. Afterwards, the found differences were discussed and solved, to be able to find a common way for detecting differences in the coding and interpretation when moving forward. Additionally, during the coding, random samples was taken, tested and discussed for the coding as well as for the selection. No differences were found during this process.

3.4 Research Quality

According to Bryman and Bell (2007, p. 157) the validity and reliability determine how trustable the research is, thereby the quality on the research. The validity of the research reflects how well the research complies with reality, while the reliability reflects how trustable the method the researchers have used is, thus, if the result would be the same if another researcher did the same (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 159). In qualitative research the reliability can often be in question, compared to quantitative method since the reliability generally is higher when it comes to a quantitative method (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 157). To be able to show a high trustworthiness in the material, it is important to show the dissection of the analysis process, as well as the validity of the results (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

3.4.1 Validity

The material used in this study comes from the companies themselves and directly from the media. Therefore, the information in the CSR reports and press releases that are being used in this study is not in any way doubtless true, as well as the news articless are not claimed to be true fact. Therefore, as the CSR reports and press releases are issued by the companies themselves one have to bare in mind that the material thereby could be subject for the companies' trying to greenwash themselves or simply trying to appear in a better manner. However, when conducting this study an important standpoint is to trust what the companies and media write with integrity, although nonetheless critical integrity. Therefore, this study is based on the standpoint that the companies write the truth in their CSR reports and press releases, and that newspapers are unbiased in their writing. Based on above reasoning, given the view that companies give out information that is true and fair and that media's information is unbiased, this study probably shows the reality, for the chosen companies, in a truth and trustful way.

3.4.2 Reliability

The CSR reports, press releases and the news articles are chosen in order to cover a given period of time, before and after the scandal. For the news articless as well as the press releases a selection needed to be conducted; therefore, the selection of hundred articles per company was chosen in order to get the same amount of articles for each scandal. This selection could be criticised since it leaves out a lot of article during the chosen time period, although this selection was performed based on a rate giving an average of hundred articles on each of the companies. The selection of press releases could be criticised for leaving out press releases about H&M but not Primark. However, due to the large difference between the two companies as well as the comparability to news articles a selection needed to be made and therefore the same amount of press releases, from H&M, as the amount of news articles, namely hundred, was selected. Additionally, all of Primark's own as well as all of Associated British Foods press releases during the predetermined time frame was used, this in order to make the selection as comparable as possible to the selected press releases from H&M, and thereby restore this study's reliability. The CSR reports used in this study are individually chosen for each company, based on the given period of time, one year before the scandal to one year after the scandal, which leaves no report, during the given period of time, out. Primark as a part of the group of companies British Associated Foods, however, did not have

a CSR report from the year before the scandal, therefore the latest report possible, before the scandal, was used and thereby no report was left out in this case either. Additionally, in order to avoid differences in coding and interpreting, by the two authors, comparisons and random sampling checks was conducted. Therefore, if other researchers using the same period of time conducted the research, the same companies and the same newspapers, the result would probably be very similar to this result. If another researcher, however, choose another period of time or other scandals the result might not be the same as the result in this study. To be able to show a high reliability, we are constantly throughout our findings showing examples to be able to demonstrate a link between our results and the data, which is important according to Elo and Kyngäs (2008). By doing this, the reader is enabled to follow our process, which is also connected to reliability (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). Since this study only contains two companies it can also be questioned if the results in this study is consistent with the whole industry. However, this study does not try to explain certain behaviour in a whole industry, but rather give indications that a certain behaviour could occur within this industry, which make a case study an excellent choice of method.

3.4.3 Method Critique

As Bryman and Bell (2007, p. 26) state, qualitative research can often be questioned for its reliability compared to quantitative research since reliability is considered higher in quantitative research. Qualitative research has also been said to give the researcher the possibility to focus on what they find to be important and therefore is based on the researcher's preferences. Therefore it has been said that it is not sure another study in the same area would show similar result. However, this study does not seek to make any generalisation for the whole industry but rather show indications for certain behaviour within the garment industry and therefore a qualitative method will suit the purpose of this study. Case studies has often been treated with scepticism in research, however, in most fields of research case studies are popular ways of conducting research (Blatter & Haverland, 2012, p. 1). According to Blatter and Haverland (2012, p. 1) case studies are still theoretical relevant in research. Content analysis has been critiqued for being too simple to use for statistic analysis as well as for a qualitative method, although it does allow the researcher to be flexible and understand the meaning of what is communicated (Elo & Kynäs, 2008). Moreover, content analysis is a method often used when it comes to analysing CSR reporting and media (see, for example; Grafström & Windell, 2011; Jansson, 2013), which we also believe is a valid claim for us

using this method in our study. The critique towards content analysis as a too simple method is of importance, although for this study the flexibility and understanding of the communication, are weighing up the critique according to us, and fits the purpose with this paper.

3.4.4 Literature Critique

The primary source in this study is scientific articles, although in some cases books, news articles and other web-based sources have been used. Additionally, information coming directly from the companies' web pages is being used. They are only used, however, to describe the companies used in this study. The reliability of web-based sources and news articles from less well known newspapers can be question, therefore, the information coming from this kind of sources is mainly used for describing the scandals and introducing the reader to this study. Moreover, scientific articles are used constantly throughout the whole study in order to make this study based on existing literature and theory. The articles used in this paper that are collecting their own empirical evidence has been chosen in order to be in a similar context as this study. The chosen authors of the articles are also well-known in the CSR research field. For example, Islam and Deegan which have conducted their studies in the garment industry focusing on CSR (in the year of 2008 as well as in the year of 2010). Other studies used in this paper are also taken from similar contexts in order to ensure this papers reliability. The chosen articles are also well quoted, to ensure the trustworthiness of the authors. Additionally, the original source has often been tried to find in the case authors of the article are referring to another article. Books are mainly being used for the two method sections. In the data collection, information from well-known newspapers and CSR reports are being used, however, this is not seen as literature but rather as data.

The scientific articles are retrieved from Lund's University Library (LUB Search) and Google Scholar. Key search words have been used in order to find articles in the same area as this study. However, the article used for the different steps in a content analysis is an article in the area of medicine. The keywords used, for searching articles, in this study are keywords such as: "CSR", "sustainability reports", "environmental accounting", "stakeholders", "CSR in industries", "garment industry", "media" and so on.

4. Findings

In this chapter, we are going to present our findings by first presenting Primark's received reaction from media, as well as their response to the scandal. We are then going to present H&M's received reaction from media and their response to the scandal.

## 4.1 Primark - directly affected by the Scandal

4.1.1 Media's Reaction towards Primark

As mentioned before, the amount of news articles covering Primark originally consisted of 149. After selecting two articles and skip one, all the way through the entire population, reading and excluding articles that did not cover Primark, 36 articles remained for us to analyse. Out of these 36 articles, 25 articles were written before the scandal and 11 were written after the scandal. Almost all positive articles written about Primark was written before the scandal. Out of only 7 negative articles in total, 5 was written after the scandal. See Table 4.1 for an overview over the amount of articles before and after scandal, as well as the amount of positive, negative and neutral articles.

	Attitude	Pre scandal		Post scandal		Total	
	Negative	2	8%	5	46%	7	19%
	Positive	21	84%	3	27%	24	67%
Primark	Positive/negative	1	4%	3	27%	4	11%
	Neutal	1	4%	0	0%	1	3%
	Total	**25**	**100%**	**11**	**100%**	**36**	**100%**

Table 4.1 The Amount of News Articles pre and post Scandal and the Attitude shown towards Primark

When analysing a timeline covering the frequency of the released articles, compared to a trend line, especially one thing stands out. See Graph 4.1. It is the increasingly number of articles released from January 2013, until May 2013. After that the slope evens out, which is due to the fact that fewer articles is being released from May 2013, up to February 2014, making the trend line after the scandal (the time of the scandal is being depicted as a vertically dotted line in the graph) differ more from the actual released articles, than before the scandal. The graph is showing the written articles cumulative, so it should not be interpreted as almost all articles are being written in February 2014.
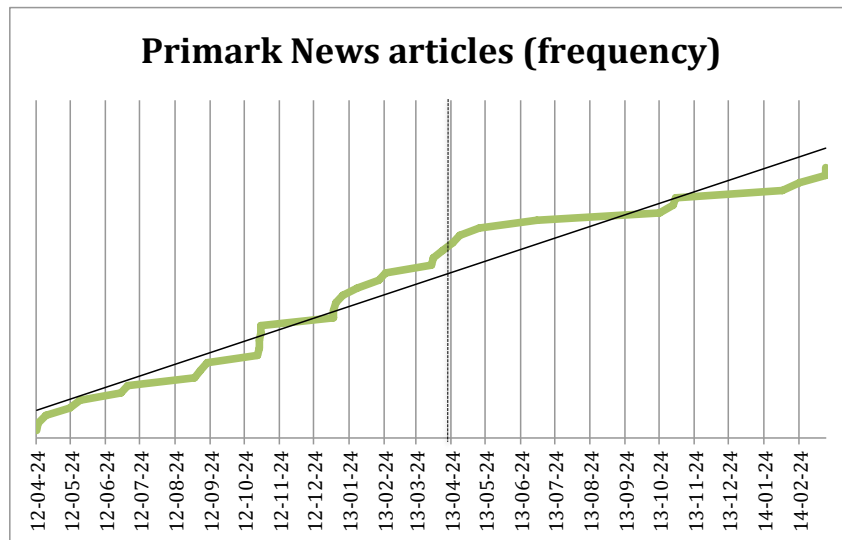
Graph 4.1 Frequency over Primark's News Articles

By plotting the negative and the positive articles on a timeline, some trends can be found. See Graph 4.2. Up to the scandal, the news articles written about Primark are usually positive, making the slope point upwards. The positive articles are being depicted as an increase, the negative as a decrease and the positive/negative as well as the neutral is being depicted as no change at all. Only two negative articles are being written. After the scandal, the articles are very mixed. Negative, positive and equally positive and negative, which makes the slope quite horizontal.
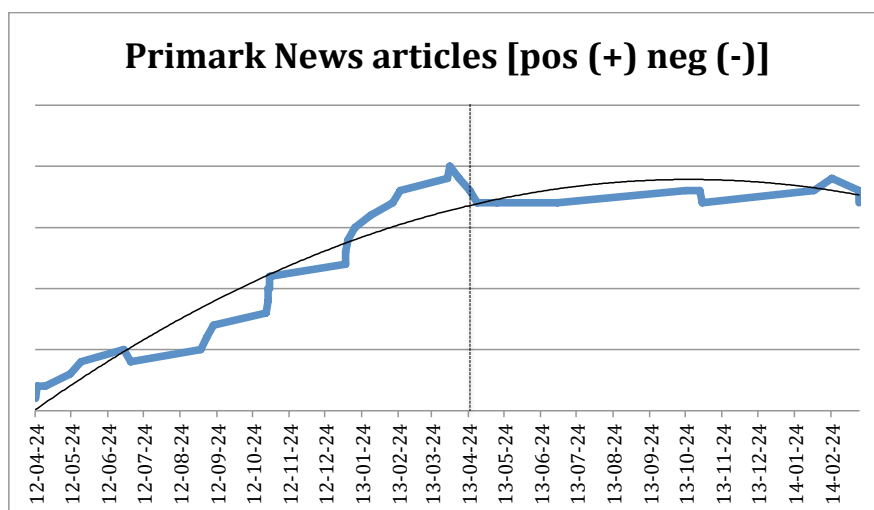
*Graph 4.2 Frequency over positive and negative Articles towards Primark*

4.1.2 Primark's Response to the Scandal

Primark's total population of press releases consisting of 48 press releases, see Table 4.2. 19 are being released before the scandal and 29 are being released after the scandal. Out of the 19 press releases before the scandal, all are released from Associated British Foods. One thing that is mentionable is the fact that there are no sustainability press releases before the scandal. When it comes to the press releases after the scandal, Associated British Foods press releases do not concern sustainability, although almost all of Primark's press releases concern sustainability.

	Type	Pre scandal		Post scandal		Total	
	Sustainability	0	0%	11	38%	11	23%
Primark	Other	19	100%	18	62%	37	77%
	Total	**19**	**100%**	**29**	**100%**	**48**	**100%**

Table 4.2 The amount of Press Releases and Type of Press Releases

The exact time of the press releases can be seen in Graph 4.3. One can see that there are deviations from the trend line from the time of the scandal and after. Up to the scandal the slope is quite horizontal, which is due to the fact that few releases are being made. Afterwards, the slope starts to excel, showing the increased amount of press releases.
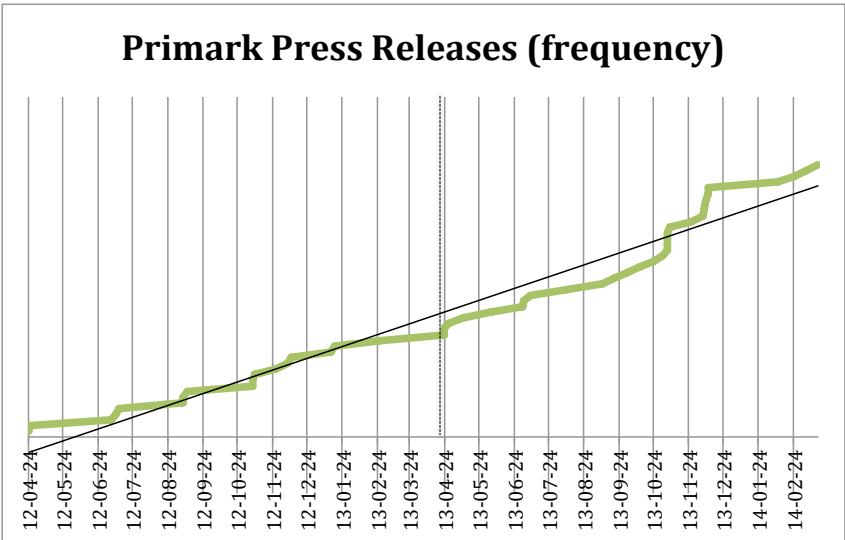
Graph 4.3 Frequency over Primark's Press Releases

When analysing the time and type of press releases according to our coding; "Sustainability" and "Other", where "Sustainability" being coded +1 and "Other" being coded -1, one can see the clear change in reporting post scandal, see Graph 4.4. The line is downward-sloping all the way towards the scandal, showing that there are only "Other" press releases. After the scandal it evens out, indicating that there are a mix of sustainable and other reporting. In October 2014, one can see that "Other" reporting is increasing yet again.
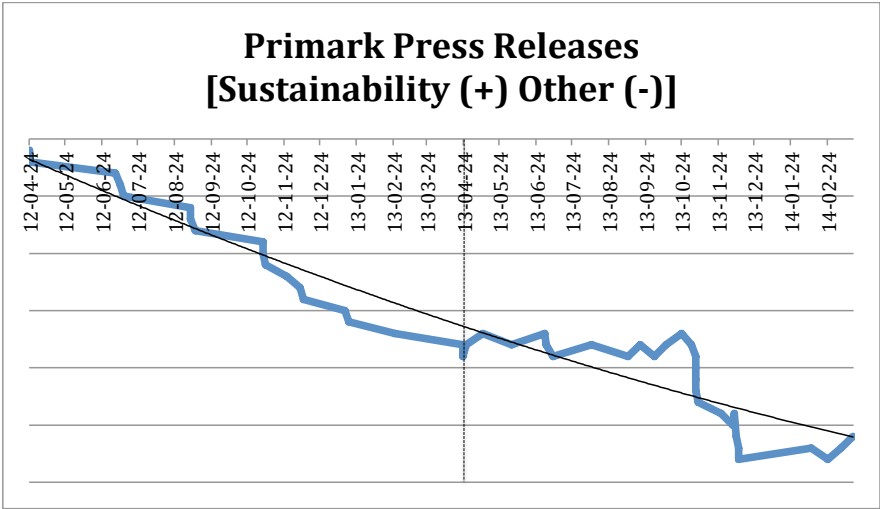
Graph 4.4 Frequency over Primark's type of Press Releases

In Primark's press releases almost all of the strategies in order to regain legitimacy are being used, see Table 4.3. The three strategies that are mostly used are justifying the organisation's action, create monitors and watchdogs and disassociation. All of these three strategies are used four times each. Additionally, excuse the scandal and explain the occurrence are being used one time each.

	Strategy	Post scandal	
	Denial	0	0%
	Excuse	1	7%
	Justification	4	29%
Primark	Explanation	1	7%
	Monitors/watchdogs	4	29%
	Disassociation	4	29%
	Total	**14**	100%

Table 4.3 Primark's chosen Strategies in their Press Releases

Primark's CSR report increased substantially the year after the scandal compared to the last issued one; the number of pages increased almost by 50 per cent and the number of words increased by more than 80 per cent, additionally, the number of pictured also increased, by 22 per cent. See Table 4.4. In the report, Primark is illustrating the scandal by publishing images of it, and devoting one page to only the scandal, and also mentioning the scandal on 7 different pages with over 1300 words, which is approximately 3 per cent of the total number of words in the whole report. Primark also have 4 pictures connected to the scandal in the CSR report from the year after the scandal.

	Pre scandal	Post scandal	Increase (%)
Pages	60	88	46,7
Words	28 046	50 908	81,5
Images	77	94	22,1

Table 4.4 The Increase of Primark's CSR Report

In Primark's CSR report, four strategies for regaining legitimacy have been identified. See Table 4.5. These are; explain the occurrence, which is being used seven times, create monitors and watchdogs, which is being used three times, justify the organisation's actions and disassociation, which both are being used one time each.

	Strategy	Post scandal	
	Denial	0	0%
	Excuse	0	0%
	Justification	1	8%
Primark	Explanation	7	58%
	Monitors/watchdogs	3	25%
	Disassociation	1	8%
	Total	**12**	100%

Table 4.5 Primark's chosen Strategies in their CSR Report

4.2 H&M - indirectly affected by Scandal

4.2.1 Media's Reaction towards H&M

As mentioned before, out of the 313 articles we have found, we chose to analyse every third article, and after reading them through and excluding articles not covering H&M, 37 articles was left for us to analyse. 17 of the articles were published before the scandal and 20 articles

were published after, see Table 4.6. More than half of all the negative articles were written before the scandal and two thirds of the positive articles were written post scandal. The total amounts of positive and negative articles were almost the same.

	Attitude	Pre scandal		Post scandal		Total	
	Negative	9	53%	6	30%	15	41%
	Positive	2	12%	12	60%	14	38%
H&M	Positive/negative	3	18%	1	5%	4	11%
	Neutal	3	18%	1	5%	4	11%
	Total	**17**	**100%**	**20**	**100%**	**37**	**100%**

Table 4.6 The Amount of News Articles pre and post Scandal and the Attitude shown towards H&M

The frequency of the released articles do not differ much throughout the two years. However, at the time of the scandal, fewer articles is being written about H&M, see Graph 4.5. This is clear when comparing the frequency slope to the trend line.

H&M News articles (frequency)
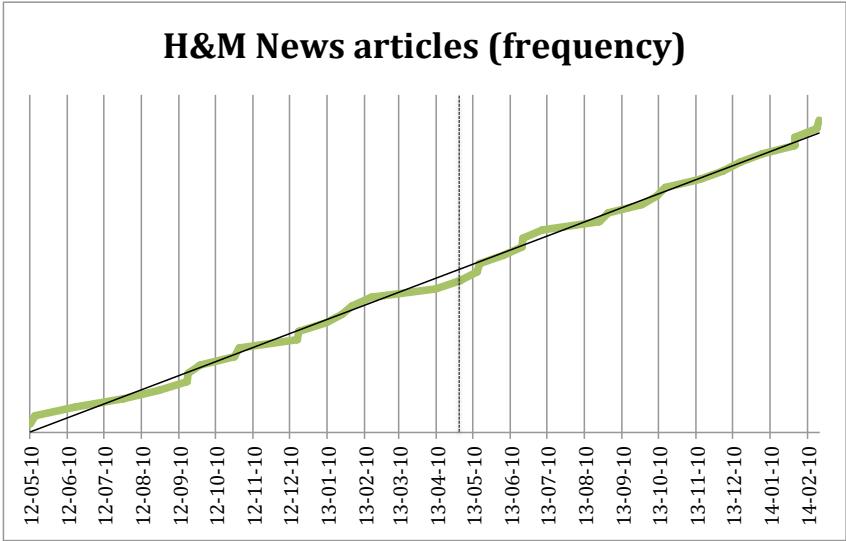
Graph 4.5 Frequency over H&M's News Articles

When analysing the positive and negative articles by plotting them on a timeline, we could find some interesting trends. As mentioned before, the negative articles were more common before the scandal, and the positive articles were more common after the scandal. As you can see in Graph 4.6, the slope reflects this by start moving downwards, and as it intersects with the time of the scandal, the amount of positive articles increase. An interesting finding when

comparing the actual articles with a trend line, is the fact that immediately after the scandal, more negative articles are being written, and then several positive articles is being written.
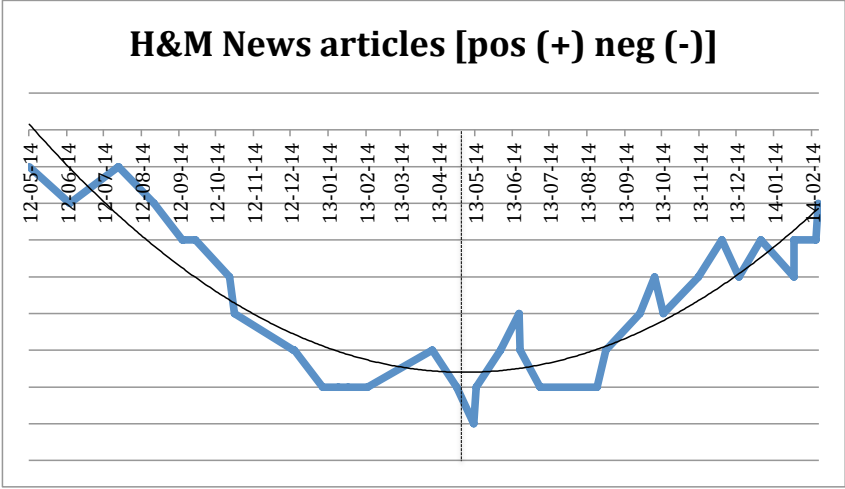
Graph 4.6 Frequency over positive and negative Articles towards H&M

4.2.2 H&M's Response to the Scandal

Out of the entire population consisting of H&M's 187 press releases, 100 releases remained after our decision to only include every second press release. Out of the remaining press releases after the selection is being made, 51 are being released before the scandal and 49 are being released after the scandal. Therefore there is a small decrease of press releases after the scandal occurred can be found. Also, as you can see in Table 4.7, the amount of sustainability reporting increase after the scandal, and other press releases decrease.

	Type	Pre scandal		Post scandal		Total	
	Sustainability	20	39%	27	55%	47	47%
H&M	Other	31	61%	22	45%	53	53%
	Total	**51**	**100%**	**49**	**100%**	**100**	**100%**

Table 4.7 The amount of Press Releases and Type of Press Releases

When depicting the exact time of the press releases, seen in Graph 4.7, one can see that there are very few deviations from the trend line. Therefore, one can conclude that the amount of press releases do not differ much during these two years, but are evenly distributed. However, there are a few more in the beginning of our sample period, and a few less than normal

following that period. One can also see a small increase right after the scandal. But as stated before, no significant trends can be spotted during these two years.
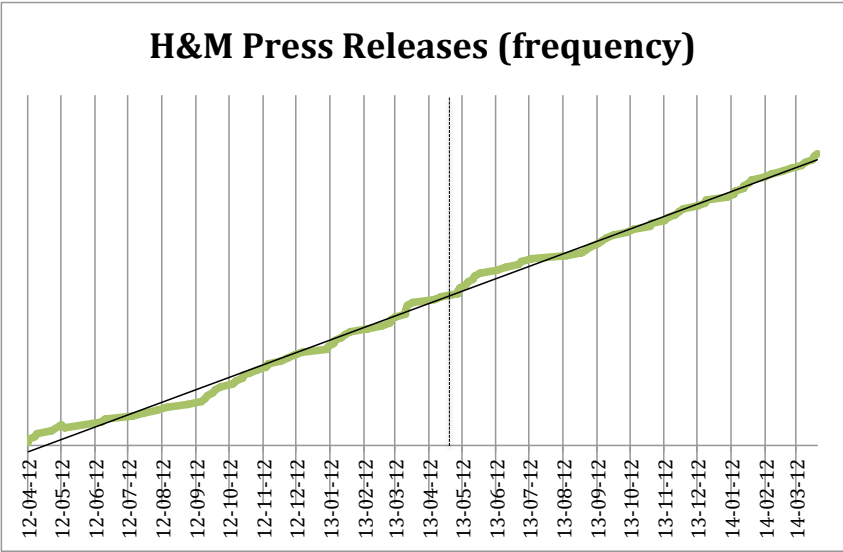
Graph 4.7 Frequency over H&M's Press Releases

Also when it comes to analysing our coding of "Sustainability" and "Other", one can see that there are major differences during the years, see Graph 4.8. Especially two things are mentionable. The first is the steady increase of other press releases following December 2012, up to the scandal in April 2013. The second is the steady increase of sustainability releases from the scandal, up to July 2013.
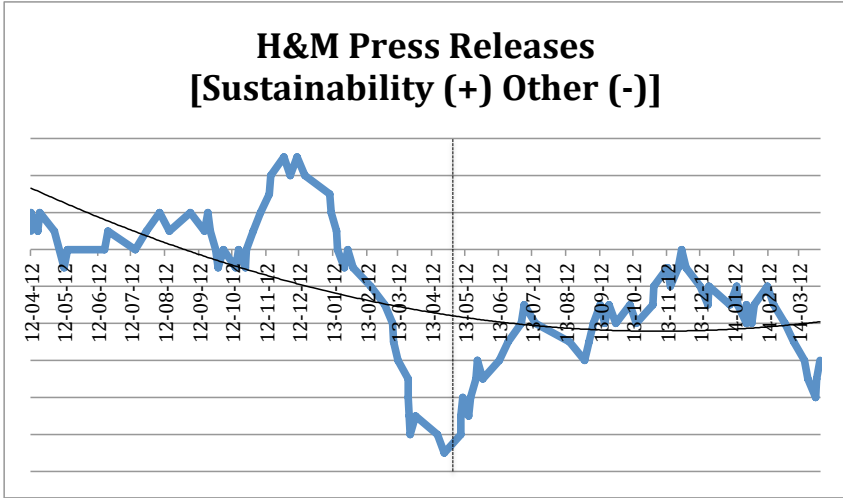
Graph 4.8 Frequency over H&M's type of Press Releases

In H&M's press releases, almost all of the different strategies for regaining legitimacy are found, see Table 4.8. The two most used ones are; disassociation and justify the organisation's actions, these two strategies are used three times each in the selected press releases. Additionally, create monitors and watchdogs are used two times. Finally, denying the problem and excuse the scandal are being used one time each.

	Strategy	Post scandal	
	Denial	1	10%
	Excuse	1	10%
	Justification	3	30%
H&M	Explanation	0	0%
	Monitors/watchdogs	2	20%
	Disassociation	3	30%
	Total	**10**	100%

Table 4.8 H&M's chosen Strategies in their Press Releases

H&M's CSR report after the scandal increased in terms of how many words, with almost 3 per cent. See Table 4.9. However, in terms of pages the report actually decreased, although only one page. The number of pictures increased with almost 1,5 per cent. In the report H&M did not divided any certain pages solely to the scandal, however, they mention it on 7 pages with almost 400 words which is approximately 1,5 per cent of the total number of words in the report. Of the number of images in the report after the scandal none, however, was connected to the scandal.

	Pre scandal	Post scandal	**Increase (%)**
Pages	93	92	**-1,1**
Words	29 858	30 620	**2,6**
Images	213	216	**1,4**

Table 4.9 The Increase of H&M's CSR Report

In H&M's CSR report, only two strategies for regaining legitimacy are being used. See Table 4.10. The strategies that are used are solely disassociation, which is being used three times, and create monitors and watchdogs, which is being used one time.

	Strategy	Post scandal	
	Denial	0	0%
	Excuse	0	0%
	Justification	0	0%
H&M	Explanation	0	0%
	Monitors/watchdogs	1	25%
	Disassociation	3	75%
	Total	**4**	100%

Table 4.10 H&M's chosen Strategies in their CSR Report

5. Empirical Analysis

In this chapter, we are going to analyse our findings by separating media's reaction from the companies' responses and finally present an integrated analysis.

5.1 Media's Reaction

As presented in the findings section, the frequency of articles before compared to after the scandal differs. When it comes to Primark, more articles were published before the scandal compared to after. This is surprisingly since media plays an important role in shaping society's concerns (Islam & Deegan, 2010) and that multinational companies also receives great amount of media attention (Garcia-Sanchez et al., 2014) and the fact that media are more likely to report organisation's bad environmental performance, than good, since it is "better" news for the newspaper (Haddock-Fraser, 2012). The same goes for H&M, which have a slightly higher number of articles published after the scandal, compared to before. However, considering above reasoning the difference after the scandal compared to before was expected to be larger.

When it comes to positive and negative news articles the media reports more positive articles regarding Primark before the scandal, compared to after. After the scandal the articles are more negative. For H&M, on the contrary, the articles are shifting from being more negative before the scandal, to being more positive after. This can be due to the fact that Primark was directly involved in the scandal, while H&M was not. However, also due to the fact that H&M was not directly involved but after the scandal showed that they were taking it seriously, as they reacted to the scandal. Since the press can influence norms and reputation, as Jansson's (2013) research has shown, and by stating good examples they show how organisations should behave within the garment industry. This could be why the media is writing about H&M in a positive way after the scandal by addressing good examples happening within the industry at the moment. For example:

> *The clothing mogul will review the factories they are using in the country to ensure that buildings and fire protection will be improved. Thereby, no employees will need to worry about fires, buildings collapsing or other accidents that can be prevented, H&M write in a press release.*
>
> *In an interview with the Financial Times [...] the H&M CEO executive Karl Johan Persson encourages Bangladesh to annually raise the minimum wages in the country.*

When the media refer to Primark in a positive way before the scandal they are mostly referring to employment and how they are doing much better than their competitors. For example, when the press is referring to how Primark's competitor, Marks & Spencer, performs, which is not as good as Primark's performance, this could be seen as it is better news for the newspaper to report bad sales for Marks & Spencer. This is due to the fact that this news could be seen as more important to their readers, as Haddock-Fraser (2012) states that newspapers rather report bad news than good news since it is considered better news for the newspaper. When the media is referring to Primark after the scandal, in a positive way, only three articles are positively written. An example of when media refers to Primark in a positive way regarding the scandal is:

> *British clothing firm Primark says it will pay further $9 million in long-term compensation to victims of the collapse of the Rana Plaza factory in Bangladesh.*

Primark followed our prediction that the amount of negative articles would increase after the scandal. For example, one news article state:

> *On Tuesday thousands of workers paraded through central Dhaka on May Day to demand safety at work and the death penalty for the owner of the building. The illegally constructed 8-story Rana Plaza collapsed on April 24, bringing down with it five garment factories. [...] Primark was using a factory in Rana Plaza.*

The media covering H&M release fewer negative news article post scandal. One news article claim that...

> *Bangladesh has during the past years been shook by bitter protests against poor safety and low wages in the garment industry, which is making a huge amount of merchandise for giant companies such as H&M and the American WalMart.*

When it comes to Primark, after the scandal 46 per cent of the articles are negative, compared to 8 per cent before the scandal. Additionally, and as can be seen in the quote above as well, the garment industry has continuously gotten critique for their poor employment condition (Frynas, 2009) and media is often an important factor for driving the communities concerns (Islam & Deegan, 2010), which also could explain this increase of negative articles after the scandal. However, these negative news can be seen as better news for the newspapers (Haddock-Fraser, 2012), which also could be the reason for the increase of negative articles. The garment industry is also very sensitive towards their customers' perception on their

operations (Kamal & Deegan, 2013) as well as journalists, since newspapers often consider themselves to be on the customers' side when they are reporting (Tench et al., 2007), which additionally can explain the increase of negative articles about Primark.

H&M show a decrease of negative articles after the scandal, approximately 53 per cent of the articles before the scandal were negative, compared to after the scandal where only 30 per cent of the articles were negative. The fact that the amount of negative articles about H&M did not increase after the scandal did surprise us since we had predicted that the amount of negative articles would increase. However, the fact that H&M was not directly involved in the scandal can be a possible explanation to why the amount of negative articles did not increase. Additionally, H&M was praised for their reaction after the scandal and for taking action against low wages in several countries. Since a response like this often receives more positive attention than a response when the company starts to promote CSR after the scandal even though they did not before (Groza et al., 2011), this could explain the fact that H&M receives more positive media attention post scandal. However, still, approximately 30 per cent of the articles about H&M are negative, which could, for the same reason as Primark, be due to fact that H&M is a company in the garment industry where customers perception on organisations therein is important (Kamal & Deegan, 2013) and journalists, not the least, often consider themselves to be on the customers side (Tench et al., 2007) as well as media often is important for shaping communities concerns (Islam & Deegan, 2010).

5.2 The Companies' Responses

The number of press releases, in the case of Primark, increases after the scandal occurred. For H&M there is a small decrease of press releases after the scandal. As media attention after a scandal can reduce an organisation's legitimacy (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014) Primark's increase of press releases can be a response to media attention, since press releases can be a way, for the organisation, to manage what media writes about them (Desai, 2011) and thereby a way for Primark to try to stay legitimate (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014). The fact that H&M was not directly involved in the scandal can be the reason to why their press releases did not increase after the scandal, as Desai (2011) state, press releases can be a way of managing what media writes, and since H&M was not directly involved in the scandal they might not need to try to manage the media. Primark and H&M both increased their press releases regarding sustainability after the scandal, which is not surprisingly since Fernando and

Lawrence (2014) state that attention in, for example, media after a scandal can decrease an organisation's legitimacy, while certain events and actions can increase an organisation's legitimacy. This certain actions could in this case be an increase of press releases regarding CSR.

Another noticeable happening is that Primark did not send out any press releases during the year before the scandal. However, directly after the scandal, Primark started to send out press releases, and particularly press releases regarding the scandal. In this case, the sending out of press releases after the scandal can also be explained as being an activity increasing Primark's legitimacy as the scandal would decrease their legitimacy (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014).

As discussed in the findings section, strategies for regaining legitimacy are visible in the press releases. The strategies Primark use the most are; justifying the organisation's actions, create monitors and watchdogs and disassociate the organisation. While the most used strategies by H&M are justifying the organisation's actions and disassociate the organisation. Regarding disassociation, Suchman (1995) states that it is a strategy where the organisation distances themselves from what can be seen as bad influence. An example of how Primark use this strategy in their press releases is:

> *Primark cannot speak for the other brands involved – they will have to make their own statement on the issue of compensation.*

This sentence also shows how Primark tries to excuse the situation by questioning how far their moral responsibility goes. According to Suchman (1995) the strategy of excusing the situation is often used relatively directly after a scandal. However, instead of regaining an organisation's legitimacy, it can show a lack of control from the organisation and thereby the possibility of reducing it instead.

H&M are also using the strategy of disassociation, since they are trying to disassociate their organisation from the bad influence. This is visible in statements such as:

> *None of the textile factories located in the building produced for H&M [...] Our Code of Conduct contains the requirements that we place on all of our suppliers and their subcontractors. H&M always checks that the buildings are approved by concerned government authorities.*

Additionally, one of the most used strategies in Primark's press releases is justifying the organisation's moral belief after the scandal. An example of this is how Primark, after the scandal, discuss compensation for the victims of the scandal:

> *Following the meeting, Primark committed to a second short-term financial payment equivalent to a further three months' salary, as it remains concerned about the length of time it is taking to agree the compensation framework.*

The same strategy is being used in H&M's press releases. However, according to Suchman (1995) this strategy is often being used as a response directly after the scandal. An example of this is:

> *We are aiming for a broad alliance among brands, NGOs and stakeholders for a safer industry in Bangladesh.*

Another strategy, visible in Primark's press releases, as well as H&M's, is create monitors and watchdogs. According to Suchman (1995), this is a strategy serving as damage control. An example of this, in Primark's press releases is:

> *Primark has recently begun working with the United Federation of Garments Workers, a trade union body, to provide essential support for workers who remain in hospital or receiving medical treatment.*

And also visible in H&M's press releases:

> *Today at 1 o'clock pm we had a positive and constructive meeting with IndustryAll and UNI. We further discussed the content of the Fire and Building Safety Agreement and the conclusion was that IndustryAll and UNI will come back as soon as possible regarding certain essential points.*

Additionally, in H&M's first press releases, after the scandal, the strategy of denying the problem is being used, which, according to Suchman (1995), often is the first thing the organisation does. As H&M writes:

> *It is important to remember that this disaster is an infrastructure problem in Bangladesh and not a problem specific to the textile industry.*

In one press release, Primark is explaining the occurrence of the scandal, which often is what the organisation does when other strategies do not help the organisation to regain their legitimacy. The example of this is:

Primark confirms that one of its suppliers occupied the second floor of the eight storey building, which housed several suppliers to the garment industry making clothing for a number of brands.

In Primark's and H&M's press releases all strategies for regaining legitimacy are used. According to Suchman (1995), the strategy of denying the problem is often used directly after the scandal occurred, which is the case since H&M is using this strategy directly after the scandal. Additionally, the strategy of excusing the scandal is also used in the beginning of the scandal (Suchman, 1995), which here is the case of Primark's use of excusing the scandal as a strategy. Primark has used the strategies of justifying the organisation, create monitors and watchdogs and disassociation most frequently. According to Suchman (1995), organisations can use many of these legitimacy-regaining strategies, as well as change them during the time the organisation tries to regain their legitimacy. Since attention from media can decrease an organisation's legitimacy (Fernando & Lawrence, 2014) there is no surprise that Primark used these legitimacy-regaining strategies when they responded to their decreasing legitimacy. When it comes to H&M, the strategies that are most used in their press releases are justification and disassociation. Hence, they are using different strategies, just as Primark, which also can be a way for H&M to regain their legitimacy after it has decreased.

As discussed in the findings section, Primark's CSR report increases in all three measured variables after the scandal, which also H&M's did. However, only in two out of three measured variables. This increase in the CSR reports after the scandal goes in line with previous research, for example, Islam and Deegan (2008) that found that the extent of CSR reporting is linked to a legitimacy threatening happening, which is what we see in the case of Primark and H&M after the scandal occurred. Additionally, even though H&M was not directly included in the scandal since they did not have any production in the collapsed building, we have seen an increase of their CSR report. This can be explained by institutional factors, since Brown and Deegan (1998) state that a scandal occurring to one specific organisation affects the whole industry. Therefore, the fact that H&M's CSR report increased after the scandal can be seen as an institutional factor since H&M as a company was not directly affected by the scandal. Hence, as they are in the same industry, they therefore still increase their CSR report in order to stay legitimate.

Additionally, the amount of space the scandal gets in the CSR report differs slightly between Primark and H&M, as Primark dedicate more words, pages and images in their CSR report to

the scandal than H&M does. However, as Primark was directly involved in the scandal while H&M was not, as previous research has shown that legitimacy threatening occurrence and accidents leads to an increase of CSR reporting (Islam & Deegan, 2008; Fernando & Lawrence, 2014) it seems logical that the company directly involved in the scandal, Primark, increase their CSR report as well as reporting more about the scandal than H&M, the company that only was indirectly involved.

Another noticeable fact is that the group Primark belongs to, Associated British Foods, has not released any CSR reports between the years 2010 and 2013. They did not issue a new CSR report until 2013, the year the scandal occurred. Additionally, they did not give out any CSR reports after either. In 2014 they only issued a modification of the CSR report from 2013. The fact that Primark/Associated British Foods gave out a CSR report concerning the year as the scandal took place, even though they did not give out any CSR report the years before the scandal, can be a way for Primark to restore their image. This is something that Fernando and Lawrence (2014) also support, since the desire from an organisation to restore their image can be the reason to why an organisation voluntary chooses to disclose CSR information.

As discussed in the findings section, some of the strategies for regaining legitimacy can be seen in Primark's CSR report as well as in H&M's. In Primark's CSR report, the most used strategy is explaining the occurrence of the scandal. According to Suchman (1995) this strategy is the strategy that can make an organisation keep its legitimacy if previous strategies have not worked for regaining the organisation's legitimacy. An example of how Primark explain the occurrence of the scandal is:

> *The collapse of the Rana Plaza building in Savar, Dhaka, Bangladesh, claimed at least 1,127 lives and shocked and saddened everyone at Primark as well as many others around the world.*

For H&M, on the contrary, the most used strategy is disassociation, a strategy that, according to Suchman (1995) is used in order for the organisation to disassociate themselves from what can be seen as a "bad influence". An example of how H&M disassociated themselves from the scandal is:

> *While we had never had any production in the building, this disaster underlines the importance of the work we already started several years ago to improve fire- and building safety in the country.*

The strategy of disassociating the organisation from bad influence has also been found in Primark's CSR report, however, one time only. As they write:

> *The vast majority of these employees made clothes for retail brands other than Primark.*

Additionally, the second most used strategy in Primark's CSR report is creation of monitors and watchdogs, which according to Suchman (1995) is a strategy that can be a better damage control than certain other strategies. An example of how Primark use this strategy is:

> *We learned from the factory collapse at Savar that there was a greater need for a focus on the structural integrity of buildings. As such, we became a signatory to the multi-stakeholder Accord on Fire and Building Safety in Bangladesh and are conducting structural surveys on sites where our production takes place.*

H&M are also using the strategy of creating monitors and watchdogs, however, only once. As the say they are...

> *...committed to ensuring that all of our supplier factories in Bangladesh undergo additional independent fire and building safety inspections by the end of 2014.*

The last strategy used by Primark in their CSR report is justification of the organisation's moral beliefs. An example of when Primark uses this strategy is:

> *Primark began its programme of structural building surveys in June 2013, following the collapse of the Rana Plaza building. The surveys are due to be completed by the end of March 2014.*

Seen above, Primark and H&M used different strategies for regaining legitimacy in their CSR reports. The strategy Primark mostly used in their CSR report is to explain the occurrence of the scandal. As Primark was directly involved in the scandal and based on Suchman (1995) statement that an organisation simply can explain the occurrence of a scandal in such a way that the organisation keeps its legitimacy, we are not surprised that Primark chose to simply explain that the scandal had occurred. Additionally, the second most used strategy for regaining legitimacy that Primark used is creating monitors and watchdogs. The fact that Primark used this strategy can be explained by Gray et al.'s (2010) statement that an organisation rather disclose positive information than trying to explain a negative picture that is being provided by media. This seems also to be a reasonable explanation to why Primark used justification once, as it explains how they changed their strategy after the scandal.

However, on the contrary of Gray et al.'s (2010) statement, Primark did use the strategy of disassociation, although only once. Therefore, compared to the strategy of explaining the occurrence, which is Primark's most used strategy, the strategy of disassociation is not a major strategy in Primark's CSR report. The fact that H&M uses disassociation most in their CSR report is actually not surprising since they were not directly involved in the scandal, and therefore wants to disassociate themselves from the bad influence, which the organisation involved in the scandal stands for (Suchman, 1995). They are also using the strategy of creating monitors and watchdogs, which Suchman (1995) state is better damage control than, for example, restructuring the organisation. Therefore, based on the used strategies in H&M's CSR report, it seems as disassociating themselves from the happening, as well as stating the monitoring they created after the scandal, are the most important strategies for H&M. Gray et al. (2010) further state that organisations' rather increase their positive CSR than explaining, for example, media's bad picture of them. As H&M's second most used strategy is creating monitors and watchdogs, we can see that just as Gray et al. (2010) stated, they are focusing on increasing positive CSR. However, the most used strategy in H&M's CSR report is disassociating themselves from the scandal, which goes against Gray et al.'s (2010) statement. However, the fact that H&M was indirectly involved in the scandal could be the reason why they are focusing on disassociating themselves from the scandal.

5.3 Integrated Analysis

After the scandal, media reacted by writing about the companies in their articles. Additionally, the amount of news articles did not increase for Primark, and only increase slightly for H&M. As media can be a driver of communities concerns regarding, for example, companies social and environmental performance (Islam & Deegan, 2010) as well as multinational organisations often receive great media attention (Garcia-Sanchez et al, 2014), the fact that the amount of articles did not increase noticeably did surprise us, since the amount of articles should increase after a scandal, due to the connection between media attention and environmental reporting (Brown & Deegan, 1998). This raises the question of whether this decrease of articles in case of Primark, and small increase in case of H&M, is specific just for Primark and H&M or could be seen for other companies in the garment industry as well. However, we are aware of the fact that the number of articles pre and post scandal, has nothing to do with what is being written about the companies, which of course, could have an impact on the CSR reporting.

The amount of negative articles regarding Primark does increase after the scandal. For H&M, on the contrary, the amount of negative articles is decreasing compared to before the scandal. However, the amount of negative articles is still approximately 30 per cent of the all articles written. Primark follows what previous research made us believe would happen, since Haddock-Fraser (2012) states that media is likely to report companies' bad environmental performance, as well as the public's interest in CSR has been increasing lately (Toppinen & Korhonen-Kurki, 2013). The fact that H&M did not follow our belief, that the amount of negative articles would increase, could possibly be explained by the fact that they were not directly involved in the scandal. As they took the scandal very seriously by trying to improve the work environment for Bangladeshi employees, could also be the reason for why the negative articles did not increase. Since H&M are not directly involved in the scandal we believe that the press is appraising H&M, for showing accountability for being in the garment industry, and also since they are in a sense deviating positively from a negative norm (Deephouse, 2000), which is a reason for media increasing their release of positive news articles.

After media's reaction, the companies responded. As previous literature has shown, press releases can be a response from the company to the fact that the company is receiving attention in the media (Desai, 2011). This response from the company is particularly visible in the case of Primark, as Primark did not send out any press releases during the year before the scandal, but immediately after the scandal when negative articles about them started to increase, they responded by sending out press releases. This is not a surprise to us since pressure could have been put on Primark to oppose the negative written claims, due to their deviation from what media constitutes as a good firm (Deephouse, 2000). Additionally, H&M's, as well as Primark's, press releases regarding sustainability topics also increase after the scandal, even though H&M's total amount of press releases does not increase. Seeing press releases as a response to media attention (Desai, 2011), the fact that Primark did increase their issuing of press releases substantially goes in line with what previous research made us believe. The fact that H&M did not increase their press releases after the scandal goes against this. However, the fact that the amount of news articles regarding H&M did not increase noticeably, as well as the amount of negative news articles decreased can be an explanation to why H&M did not responded as previous literature has made us believe. However, the fact that the amount of press releases about sustainability did increase for H&M still shows that press releases as a response to media attention seems to be an important way

for H&M to keep their legitimacy by enhancing media's belief that they are considering H&M to be a good firm (Deephouse, 2000).

Furthermore, the press releases includes various strategies organisations can use in order to regain legitimacy, in this case after a scandal. Seeing that the companies are using some of these strategies in their press releases, goes in line with the fact that previous literature show that press releases can be a response to media attention (Desai, 2011) as the companies uses these strategies.

Additionally, almost one year after the scandal, the companies are releasing their CSR reports. In the case of Primark, we can see that it seems as the scandal has affected their legitimacy since Primark/Associated British Foods gives out a CSR report, even though they did not give out any such report the years before the scandal. Based on that unfavourable media attention leads to increase in social and environmental reporting (Islam & Deegan, 2010), the fact that Primark did release a CSR report after the scandal, is not surprising to us since it can be Primark's response to unfavourable media attention by opposing the media's view of them being deviators from the norm of being a good company (Deephouse, 2000). For H&M, however, we can see their CSR report increasing, as well as they are paying attention to the scandal in their CSR report. This goes well with our expectations, as Brown and Deegan (1998) found that a scandal affecting one company in a particular industry leads to the whole industry increasing their CSR reporting in order to stay legitimate. Huang and Kung (2010) also claim that an organisation attempting to restore their image could lead to an increase of CSR reporting after a scandal occurred, which also is a reason for H&M to increase their reporting.

Furthermore, for Primark as well as H&M, some of the strategies in order to regain legitimacy are following the companies, from the press releases to the CSR reports. Additionally, the methods as literature state often are used directly after a scandal, such as denying and excuse the scandal (Suchman, 1995) are used in the press releases after the scandal occurred, however, only one of these strategies is used once in the CSR reports. Accordingly, the companies are choosing the strategies at the times Suchman (1995) predicts that they would. Moreover, the strategies that literature state can be used if certain strategies did not help the organisation to regain their legitimacy, for example explain the occurrence and disassociation (Suchman, 1995), are strategies that are used in the press releases as well as in

the CSR reports. By increasing their CSR reporting, as well as showing the world through media coverage that they care, our findings are consistent with Huang and Kung's (2010) prediction since Primark, by increasing their CSR reporting, are trying to restore their present negative image regarding employee care.

In conclusion, both Primark and H&M increased their CSR reporting. However, Primark received an increasing amount of negative news articles, which is a reaction from media, to which they responded to by starting to issue press releases as well as increase the CSR report concerning the year the scandal took place. H&M, however, received more positive news articles after the scandal and did not increase their amount of press releases. This was surprising as this company did increase their CSR reporting after the scandal. However, this could possible be explained by the fact that this company was not involved in the scandal but still took responsibility after.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, we are going to discuss our findings. We are also commenting on limitations when it comes to methodology, as well as theory. Finally we are providing our conclusion and suggestion for further research.

6.1 Discussion

The garment industry has been heavily scrutinised throughout the years, both by the media as well as by other researchers within this field of study. The reason for this is that they have received much critique for their social performance and environmental issues (Kamal & Deegan, 2013). Since previous research has found that there is a connection between environmental reporting and media reporting, we wanted to take it one step further and examine if the same connection can be found if the scandal is connected to one subsidiary of a group of companies, or if the connection even can be found if the company not involved in the scandal, but are in the same industry as the company affected by the scandal. By choosing one scandal and two companies we believe that we can examine this relationship further. The chosen scandal took place in Bangladesh in April 2013 and has been referred to as the deadliest accident in the history of the garment industry (Fry, 2013). By choosing a scandal of this size, in an industry that has a history of providing excessive environmental reporting (Kamal & Deegan, 2013), we believe that we can find indications for mimetic processes within this industry, due to pressure from media.

By collecting information regarding Primark's, a subsidiary to Associated British Foods and being the company directly affected, and H&M's, a company indirectly affected, press releases and CSR reports, as well as news articles from a corresponding media in their respective home countries, we have been able to spot some similarities and differences. Our initial belief was that the two companies would be very similar in their reporting, and also would the reporting by the media. However, our study has shown that the media seem to favour the CSR work of H&M, and not Primark's CSR work. Of course, we are taking into account that the media appraises H&M for their achievements, since they were not the villains in this story. However, since the entire industry have been heavily criticised, our belief was that the media would also blame H&M in some way, which they also did since 30 per cent of the released articles post scandal, are negative, but not to the extent we initially believed.

To address the scandal Primark use different strategies for regaining their legitimacy. They are most frequently using the strategy of explaining. However, this strategy is mainly done in their CSR report when describing the scandal. Except from explaining the occurrence, the most frequently used strategy is to create monitors and watchdogs. For example, they are describing that they have become a signatory to a NGO. They are also using strategies such as justification and disassociation. These strategies are considered to be neutral, positive and negative. The responses written by Primark are being interpreted by the media, and they are choosing if to address Primark's responses or if not address them at all. In this case, the media is choosing to write more negative and less positive news articles, than before the scandal. This can indicate that Primark have not been able to regain their legitimacy through their chosen strategies, since the media is increasingly writing more negative articles after the scandal.

H&M is also using different strategies for regaining their legitimacy after the scandal. We believe that this must be done since they are doing business in an industry that is being criticised for poor employment conditions. For example, they are disassociating themselves against other companies' by stating that they were not using any of the factories located in the building that collapsed. This is also their most used strategy. They are also choosing other strategies, such as creating monitors and watchdogs, justification and excuse. These strategies can be seen as positive, negative and neutral. Media then decides what to write, after considering the reactions provided by H&M. In this case, the media decides to write much more positive reactions towards H&M than before the scandal. They are still writing negative news articles after the scandal, but they have been reduced. This can indicate that H&M have been able to regain their legitimacy, since they are part of an industry that is currently being heavily criticized and therefore have reduced their legitimacy although they were not directly involved.

6.2 Methodology Discussion

The method chosen for this thesis is a content analysis. Content analysis has been criticised in literature for being too simplistic (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). However, as this study aims to investigate the content in articles, press releases and CSR reports content analysis determined to be a suitable method. Especially since previous literature has stated that content analysis is content-sensitive as well as useful for understanding communications (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008).

As the communication from the companies, that is press releases and CSR reports, as well as the communication from media news articles, are subjects that are being studied, makes this a suitable method that enables the communication being studied. Additionally, in order to overcome the fact that content analysis has been described as too simplistic, this study has used content analysis for counting words, pages and images, as well as number of articles and press releases, and thereafter ask questions to the text. This, in order to use different aspects of a content analysis as we counted certain matters as well as examined what was written. However, naturally, the choice of a different method might have reached different findings and thereby a different conclusion than this study. This does not mean that the chosen method is wrong, it simply means that different methods might show different results.

For the articles in this study, as well as the press releases concerning H&M, a selection needed to be made. The selection was made in order to keep the final sample as similar to the whole population as possible. However, there is no doubt that an investigation of the whole population, or a larger number of articles and press releases would have been more desired, but, due to the large number of articles as well as time as a constraint, a selection needed to be made. Therefore, the selection was sorted in time order based on this study's purpose of analysing CSR reporting over time. Additionally, the fact that the number of press releases regarding Primark was substantially lower, than the press releases regarding H&M, was initially seen as a problem. However, as the first step in analysing the press releases was to find changes in number of press releases before compared to after the scandal, the number of press releases in total was of less significance. Additionally, in the next step of analysing the press releases, it was solely the number of articles after the scandal that was investigated, and therefore the total number of press releases was of less importance for this study.

The fact that Primark's sustainability report from before the scandal is from another year than H&M, since they did not publish a CSR report for several years, can also initially be viewed as a problem. However, as we used the last possible report from before the scandal, and based on the fact that the report before the scandal is only used for comparison with the report after the scandal, the fact that the reports from before the scandal was from two different years is not considered to be a problem. As Primark is a subsidiary of the group company, Associated British Foods, they do not have their own CSR report. Therefore, the sustainability report that has been used in this study is Associated British Foods CSR report. However, this is not seen as a problem for this study since the report is taking up the scandal continuously throughout

the whole report, as well as the page completely dedicated to the scandal is in the section only describing Primark. We do also not considering this as a problem, since we are mainly analysing the increase in their report compared to the latest issued.

The companies are being chosen in order for one to be a subsidiary directly affected by the scandal, and one being a group company indirectly affected by the scandal. As written in section 1.5, Scope and Limitations, this study additionally aimed to have one directly affected group of companies as well, however, that is not the case. Due to this study's aim of showing how different types of companies can be affected by the same scandal no matter if the company is a subsidiary of a group of companies or being a group of companies itself, as well as indirectly or directly involved, the fact that Primark is a subsidiary is considered to be an asset rather than an obstacle for this study.

One factor affecting this study is the fact that the chosen scandal is a large, well-known scandal, which obviously has impact on the fact that H&M are affected by the scandal even though they were only indirectly involved. Naturally, the choice of a smaller, less well-known scandal might not show the same results as this study. However, in order to find information in news articles, press releases as well as CSR reports, a scandal visible to the public is needed, which is therefore a large, well-known scandal has been chosen for this study.

This study is focusing solely on media articles, press releases and CSR reports. When it comes to companies reporting their CSR work, naturally, there are more channels companies can communicate through, other than press releases, for example, social media. Additionally, pressure on companies regarding their social and environmental performance can come from more sources than news articles, for example, blog posts. However, as previous literature states, as media can drive communities concerns regarding companies environmental performance (Brown & Deegan, 1998), news articles was chosen to be the reacting force in this study.

6.3 Theoretical Discussion

The main theory used in this study is legitimacy theory. Legitimacy theory is used due to the fact that it is a commonly used theory for research in sustainability reporting and therefore, it is used as an explaining factor for isomorphism in this study. Additionally, legitimacy theory has been suitable in order to answer the research question as well as fulfil the purpose of this

study by explaining why companies change the nature of their CSR reporting after a scandal. Moreover, as this study investigate the changing of nature of CSR reporting when a legitimacy gap occurs, legitimacy theory helps to explain the companies' attempt to regain legitimacy and thereby their changing of nature of their CSR reporting. It is also a theory explaining that organisations give out CSR reports in order to appear socially responsible, towards the media amongst other (Garcia-Sanchez et al, 2014). Except from theories, this study is also considering what research has been stating regarding CSR and media, as well as organisations reaction to media and media's influence on CSR, which has also helped us achieve our purpose with this thesis.

6.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to investigate how and why companies are changing the nature of their CSR reporting in order to regain legitimacy, due to a scandal. The purpose is also to see if an indication of how media affects the reputation of the organisations' can be found. Additionally, the research question for this study is: "Due to a scandal, how and why are companies changing the nature of their CSR reporting in order to regain legitimacy and can an indication of how media affects the reputation of the organisations' be found?"

We argue that we have been able to answer our research question and to address the purpose of this study. We have demonstrated that no matter if the company is directly or indirectly involved, the company's response after a scandal has been to change the nature of their CSR reporting by increasing the amount of press releases regarding CSR as well as to increase their CSR report. Additionally, we have also found that, after the scandal, the amount of negative articles increased for the company directly affected, although for the company indirectly affected, instead, the amount of positive articles increased. Furthermore, the directly affected company, also being exposed to an increasing number of negative articles did increase their number of press releases, while the indirectly affected company, being exposed to increasing number of positive articles, did not increase their number of press releases after the scandal. This could imply that media affects the reputation of the organisations' by influencing the directly affected company more than the indirectly, although the fact that both companies increase their CSR reports is a sign that media seems to influence both of the companies. Furthermore, we have been able to show how the companies are regaining their legitimacy by showing which legitimacy regaining strategies they have

chosen. Thereby, we argue that the study's purpose is reached as well as the research question is answered.

To conclude, this study gives indications that media reacts towards the companies after a scandal, obviously, to a certain extent, and that the companies, also to a certain extent, responds to this reaction through press releases and CSR reports. Even though media coverage between the directly and indirectly affected companies vary, both of the companies respond to media with increased number of press releases regarding sustainability, as well as increased CSR reports. The fact that the directly, as well as the indirectly affected company increased their CSR reports after the scandal, as well as their press releases regarding CSR can be seen as an institutional factor in the garment industry.

6.5 Implications, Contribution and Suggestion for further Research

The findings in this study show that CSR reporting in the garment industry increased after a scandal took place, which is in line with what previous research has found, see for example Islam and Deegan (2010). Another finding is that the company directly involved, received an increasingly amount of negative reaction from media, which they responded to by starting to increase their CSR reporting. This also goes in line with what previous research stated, see for example Deegan et al. (2002). The indirectly company, however, received more positive media reaction after the scandal, and did not increase their amount of response noticeable. This was surprising as this company did increase their CSR reporting. However, the increase of positive media reaction, as well as them not increasing the amount of response in a noticeable fashion, could possible be explained by the fact that this company was not directly involved in the scandal but still took responsibility after. The increase of positive media reaction after the scandal could be due to the fact that Deephouse (2000) claim that positive deviations from the norm can be a reason for the media reacting positively.

This study has some limitations, see section 7.2 Methodology Discussion. Despite the limitations for this study, we believe that this study contributes to literature, within the field of social and environmental accounting, by showing that companies in the garment industry, indirectly as well as directly involved increase their CSR reporting after a large scandal. Additionally, the relevance of this study is its findings show how companies in the garment industry increase their CSR reporting no matter if the company is directly or indirectly

involved, as well as it shows how media's reaction, as well as the companies' responses, differs between the indirectly and directly affected company. Even though this study solely considers the garment industry this study contributes to understandings of how a legitimacy gap affects individual companies as well as a whole industry after a scandal occurs. It also contributes to the understanding of which strategies the companies are using to regain their legitimacy. This knowledge of the impact of companies legitimacy as well as industry legitimacy could likely be seen in other industries than the garment industry. Therefore, this study's findings can serve as a ground for other studies aiming to investigate how companies legitimacy impacts in other industries, which is there this study can contribute to the research landscape. This is relevant since previous research has considered how CSR reporting change after a scandal, CSR in the garment industry, how media affects companies reporting as well as how a scandal or similar affects a whole industry and thereby also indirectly affected companies. However, this study places previous research in a new context as a scandal in the garment industry is considered, as well as one directly involved subsidiary and one indirectly involved group of companies. We are also contributing to practice since garment industry scandals' are receiving much attention in the media, which ultimately can be vital for companies' how to address the attention to regain their legitimacy.

Taken together, the result in this study can serve as a ground for those aiming to study other industries, in a similar context. However, valuable insight in how and why CSR reporting change after a scandal can possibly be found by interviewing the management in order to understand whether they believes that media influences their CSR reporting after a scandal, which is our suggestion for further studies. Another question this study opens for is why the indirectly affected company increase their CSR reporting when media reacts positive towards them and they do not increase the number of press releases.

Bibliography

Ader, C. R. (1995). A longitudinal study of agenda setting for the issue of environmental pollution. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly.* 72 (2): 300.

Alazzani, A., & Wan-Hussin, W. (2013). Global Reporting Initiative's environmental reporting: A study of oil and gas companies. *Ecological Indicators.* 32: 19–24.

Bansal, P., & Clelland, I. (2004). Talking trash: Legitimacy, impression management, and unsystematic risk in the context of the natural environment. *Academy of Management Journal.* 47 (1): 93-103.

Becker-Olsen, K. L., Cudmore, B. A., & Hill, R. P. (2006). The impact of perceived corporate social responsibility on consumer behavior. *Journal of Business Research.* 59 (1): 46-53.

Beelitz, A., & Merkl-Davies, D. M. (2012). Using discourse to restore organisational legitimacy: 'CEO-speak' after an incident in a German nuclear power plant. *Journal of Business Ethics.* 108 (1): 101-120.

Beyer, A., Cohen, D.A., Lys, T.Z., & Walther, B.R. (2010). The financial reporting environment: Review of the recent literature. *Journal of Accounting and Economics.* 50: 296-315.

Blatter, J., & Haverland, M. (2012). *Designing Case Studies: Explanatory Approach in Small-N Research.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. E-book. Available online: http://www.palgraveconnect.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/pc/doifinder/10.1057/9781137016669 [Accessed: 22 May 2015].

Boffey, D. (2013). British Sugar Giant caught in Global Tax Scandal. *The Guardian.* 9 February, Available Online: http://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/feb/09/british-sugar-giant-tax-scandal [Accessed: 30 April 2015].

Brennan, N. M., & Merkl-Davies, D. M. (2014). Rhetoric and argument in social and environmental reporting: the Dirty Laundry case. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal.* 27 (4): 602-633.

Brettschneider, F. (2002). *Economic Affairs, Media Coverage, and the Public's Perception of the Economy in Germany.* In A. Schorr et al. (Eds.), Communication Research in Europe and Abroad. Challenges of the First Decade. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Available at Google Books [Accessed: 20 May 2015]

Brosius, H.B., & Kepplinger, H.M. (1990). "The agenda-setting function of television news: static and dynamic views". *Communication Research.* 17 (2): 183-211.

Brown, N., & Deegan, C. (1998). The public disclosure of environmental performance information - a dual test of media agenda setting theory and legitimacy theory. *Accounting and Business Research.* 29 (1): 21-41.

Bryman, A,. & Bell, E. (2007). *Business research methods.* (2. ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buysse, K., & Verbeke, A. (2003). Proactive Environmental Strategies: A Stakeholder Management Perspective. *Strategic Management Journal.* 24 (5): 453-470.

Cheam, J. (2014). The top 5 CSR stories in 2014, *Eco-Business*, 31 December, Available On line: http://www.eco-business.com/news/top-5-csr-stories-2014/ [Accessed 2 April 2015].

Chi, T. (2011). Building a sustainable supply chain: an analysis of corporate social responsibility (CSR) practices in the Chinese textile and apparel industry. *Journal of the Textile institute.* 102 (10): 837-848.

Clean Clothes Campaign. (2013). Rana Plaza. Available Online: http://www.cleanclothes.org/ranaplaza [Accessed: 7 April 2015].

Deacon, D., Pickering, M., Golding, P., & Murdock, G. (1999). *Researching Communications a Practical Guide to Methods in Media and Cultural Analysis.* London: Arnold.

Deegan, D., & Gordon, B. (1996). A Study of the Environmental Disclosure Practices of Australian Corporations. *Accounting and Business Research.* 26 (3): 187-199.

Deegan, C., Rankin, M., & Tobin, J. (2002). An examination of the corporate social and environmental disclosures of BHP from 1983-1997: A test of legitimacy theory. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal.* 15 (3): 312-343.

Deegan, C., & Unerman, J. (2011). *Financial Accounting Theory.* Berkshire: McGraw-Hill.

Deephouse, D. L. (2000). Media reputation as a strategic resource: An integration of mass communication and resource-based theories. *Journal of management.* 26 (6): 1091-1112.

Desai, W. M. (2011). Mass Media and Massive Failures: Determining Organizational Efforts to Defend Field Legitimacy Following Crisis. *Academy of Management Journal.* 54 (2): 263-278.

DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review.* 48 (2): 147-160.

Ditlev-Simonsen, C.D. (2014). Are Non-Financial (CSR) Reports Trustworthy? A Study of The Extent to Which Non-Financial Reports Reflect the Media' Perception of The Company's Behaviour. *Issues in Social and Environmental Accounting.* 8 (2): 116-133.

Elo, S. & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing.* 62 (1): 107-15.

European Commission. (2014). Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). Available Online: http://ec.europa.eu/enterprise/policies/sustainable-business/corporate-social-responsibility/index_en.htm [Accessed 2 April 2015].

Fernando, S., & Lawrence, S. (2014). A Theoretical Framework for CSR Practices: Integrating Legitimacy Theory, Stakeholder Theory and Institutional Theory. *Journal of Theoretical Accounting Research.* 10 (1): 149-178.

Fornell, C. (1992). A national customer satisfaction barometer: The Swedish experience. *The Journal of Marketing*. 56: 6-21.

Fry, E. (2013). 11 most scandalous business events of 2013, *Fortune*, 27 December, Available Online: http://fortune.com/2013/12/27/11-most-scandalous-business-events-of-2013/ [Accessed 2 April 2015].

Frynas, J.G. (2009). Corporate Social Responsibility in the Oil and Gas Sector. *Journal of World Energy Law and Business*. 2 (3): 178-195.

Gangloff, K. A. (2014). *Misconduct and the Media: Organizational Sensegiving, Media Coverage, and Investor Reaction in the Aftermath of Wrongdoing* (Doctoral dissertation, Auburn University).

Garcia-Sanchez, I.M., Cuadro-Ballestros, B., & Sepulveda, C. (2014). Does Media Pressure moderate CSR Disclosures by External Directors? *Management Decisions*. 52 (6): 1014-1045.

Grafström, M & Windell, K. (2011). The Role of Infomediaries: CSR in the Business Press During 2000-2009. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 103 (2): 221-237.

Gray, R., Kouhy, R., & Lavers, S. (1995). Corporate social and environmental reporting. A review of the literature and a longitudinal study of UK disclosure. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*. 8 (2): 47-77.

Gray, R., Owen, D., & Adams, C. (2010). Some Theories for Social Accounting? A Review Essay and a Tentative Pedagogic Categorisation of Theorisation around Social Accounting. *Environmental Accounting and Management*. 4: 1-54.

Grewal, R., Kumar, A., Mallapragada, G., & Saini, A. (2013). Marketing Channels in foreign Markets: Control Mechanisms and the Moderating Role of Multinational Corporation Headquarters-Subsidiary Relationship. *American Market Association*. 50 (3): 378-398.

Groza, M. D., Pronschinske, M. R., & Walker, M. (2011). Perceived Organizational Motives and Consumer Responses to Proactive and Reactive CSR. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 102 (4): 639-652.

H&M. (2015a). Our History. Available Online: http://about.hm.com/en/About/facts-about-hm/people-and-history/history.html#cm-menu [Accessed: 7 April 2015].

H&M. (2015b). The H&M Group. Available Online: http://about.hm.com/en/About/facts-about-hm/about-hm/hm-group.html#cm-menu [Accessed: 7 April 2015].

H&M. (2015c). The Share. Available Online: http://about.hm.com/en/About/Investor-Relations/The-Share/The-Share.html#cm-menu [Accessed: 7 April 2015].

Hack, L., Kenyon, A. J., & Wood, E. H. (2014). A Critical Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Timeline: how should it be understood now? *International Journal Of Management Cases*. 16 (4): 46-55.

Haddock-Fraser. J. (2012). The Role of the News Media in Influencing Corporate Environmental Sustainability Development: An Alternative methodology to Assess

Stakeholder Engagement. *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management.* 19: 327-342.

Hammadi, S. & Kelly, A. (2013). Bangladesh factory collapse could force rethink for garment industry, *The Guardian*, 3 May, Available Online: http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/may/03/bangladesh-factory-collapse-rethink-garment-industry [Accessed 2 April 2015].

Holder-Webb, L., Cohen, J. R., Nath, L. & Wood, D. (2009). The Supply of Corporate Social Responsibility Disclosures Among U.S. Firms. *Journal of Business Ethics.* 84 (4): 497-527.

Hsieh, H. F. & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*. 15 (9): 1277-1288.

Huang, C-L., & Kung, F-H. (2010). Drivers of Environmental Disclosure and Stakeholder Expectation: Evidence from Taiwan. *Journal of Business Ethics.* 96: 435-451.

Institute for Global Labour and Human Rights. (2013). Factory Collapse in Bangladesh. Available Online: http://www.globallabourrights.org/campaigns/factory-collapse-in-bangladesh [Accessed 7 April 2015].

Islam, M. A. & Deegan, C. (2008). Motivations for an organisation within a developing country to report social responsibility information: Evidence from Bangladesh. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*. 21 (6): 850-874.

Islam, M.A. & Deegan, C. (2010). Media pressures and corporate disclosure of social responsibility performance information: a study of two global clothing and sports retail companies. *Accounting and Business Research.* 40 (2): 113-148.

Jansson, A. (2013). "Real Owners" and "Common Investors": Institutional Logics and the Media as a Governance Mechanism. *Corporate Governance: An International Review*. 21 (1): 7–25.

Jansson, A. (2014). Stigmatisation of Elite Actors in Corporate Scandals: The role of meaning making in the media. *Culture and Organization"*. Article in Press.

Kamal, Y. & Deegan, C. (2013). Corporate Social and Environment-related Governance Disclosure Practices in the Textile and Garment Industry: Evidence from a Developing Country. *Australian Accounting Review*. 23 (2): 117-134.

Larrinaga-Gonzalez, C. & Bebbington, J. (2001). Accounting change or institutional appropriation? A case study of the implementation of environmental accounting. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*. 12 (3): 269–292.

Lo, P. (2013). H&M Responds Slowly to Bangladesh Factory Collapse Killing 1,100. *CorpWatch.* 19 May, Available Online: http://corpwatch.org/article.php?id=15840 [Accessed 7 April 2015].

Magness, V. (2006). Strategic posture, financial performance and environmental disclosure: an empirical test of legitimacy theory. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal*. 19 (4): 540-563.

Matten, D. & Moon, J. (2008). "Implicit" and "explicit" CSR: A conceptual framework for a comparative understanding of corporate social responsibility. *Academy of Management Review*. 33 (2): 404-424.

Metro. (2013). Metro största dagstidningen. 31 January, Available Online: http://www.metro.se/nyheter/metro-storsta-dagstidningen/EVHmaE!LWPP1d0JltkLM/ [Accessed 29 April 2015].

Milne, M. & Gray, R. (2013). W(h)ither Ecology? The Triple Bottom Line, the Global Reporting Initiative, and Corporate Sustainability Reporting. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 118 (1): 13-29.

Mitchell, R., Agle, B. R. & Wood, D. J. (1997). Toward a Theory of Stakeholder Identification and Salience: Defining the Principle of who and what really counts. *Academy of Management Review*. 22 (4): 853-886.

Onkila, T., Joensuu, K. & Koskela, M. (2014). Implications of Managerial Framing of Stakeholders in Environmental Reports. *Social and Environmental Accountability Journal*. 34 (3): 134-156.

Porac, J. F., Thomas, H. & Baden-Fuller, C. (1989). Competitive groups as cognitive communities: The case of scottish knitwear manufacturers. *Journal of Management studies*. 26 (4): 397-416.

Primark. (2015a). About Us. Available Online: https://www.primark.com/en/about-us/about-primark [Accessed: 7 April 2015].

Primark. (2015b). Associated British Food. Available Online: https://www.primark.com/en/about-us/associated-british-foods [Accessed: 7 April 2015].

Primark. (2015c). Current Share Price. Available Online: http://www.abf.co.uk/investorrelations/share_price_information/current_share_price [Accessed: 7 May 2015].

Rana, N. (2013). Global Apparel Companies in India: Can they be Socially Responsible? *CSRwire,* 2 December, Available Online: http://www.csrwire.com/blog/posts/1126-global-apparel-companies-in-india-can-they-be-socially-responsible [Accessed 2 April 2015].

Rensburg, S. & Botha, E. (2014). Is Integrated Reporting the silver bullet of financial communication? A stakeholder perspective from South Africa. *Public Relations Review*. 40: 144–152.

Ricks, J. M. Jr. (2005). An assessment of strategic corporate philanthropy on perceptions of brand equity variables. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*. 22 (3): 121-134.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2009). *Research methods for business students*. (5. ed.). Harlow: Financial Times Prentice Hall.

Sen, S. & Bhattacharya, C. B. (2001). Does Doing Good Always Lead to Doing Better? Consumer Reactions to Corporate Social Responsibility. *Journal of Marketing Research*. 38 (2): 225-243.

Suchman, M.C. (1995). Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches. *Academy of Management Review*. 20 (3): 571-610.

Sustainable Fashion Advice. (2014). CSR in the Fashion Industry is Maturing: Sustainability is Increasingly Subject of Marketing Campaigns. Available Online: http://www.sustainablefashionadvice.com/news/2014/csr-in-the-fashion-industry-is-maturing [Accessed 2 April 2015].

Tench, R., Bowd, R., & Jones, B. (2007). Perceptions and perspectives: Corporate social responsibility and the media. *Journal of Communication Management*. 11 (4): 348-370.

The Economist. (2013). Corporate Social Responsibility: Disaster at Rana Plaza. 4 May, Available Online: http://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21577067-gruesome-accident-should-make-all-bosses-think-harder-about-what-behaving-responsibly [Accessed 2 April 2015].

The Guardian. (2014). ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation. January 2014. 14 February, Available Online: http://www.theguardian.com/media/table/2014/mar/14/abcs-national-newspapers [Accessed 29 April 2015].

Toppinen, A., & Korhonen-Kurki, K. (2013). Global Reporting Initiative and Social Impact in Managing Corporate Responsibility: a Case Study of Three Multinationals in the Forest Industry. *Business Ethics: a European Review*. 22 (2): 202-217.

Wagner, T., Lutz, R. J. & Weitz, B. A. (2009). Corporate Hypocrisy: Overcoming the Threat of Inconsistent Corporate Social Responsibility Perceptions. *Journal of Marketing*. 73 (6): 77-91.

Weaver, A. (2014). Scandals, the Mass Media, and the Politics of Extreme Visibility: Conflict and Controversy at the Niagara Park Commission. *Current Issue in Tourism*. Article in Press. Available online: http://www.tandfonline.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/doi/full/10.1080/13683500.2014.987735 [Accessed 20 May 2015].

Wu, J., & Davidson, D. K. (2011). The business-government-society relationship: a comparison between China and the US. *Journal of Management Development*. 30 (1): 112-125.

Zhu, Q. & Sarkis, J. (2006). An Inter-Sectoral Comparison of Green Supply Chain Management in China: Drivers and Practices. *Journal of Cleaner Production*. 14: 472-486.

Zyglidopoulos, S.C., Georgiadis, A.P., Carroll, C.E. & Siegel, D.S. (2012). Does media attention drive corporate social responsibility? *Journal of Business Research*. 65 (11): 1622-7.